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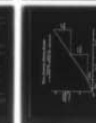
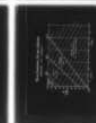
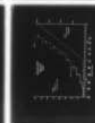
ARMY INFANTRY SCHOOL FORT BENNING GA
RACE RELATIONS ORIENTATION PACKET FOR LEADERS. (U)
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DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
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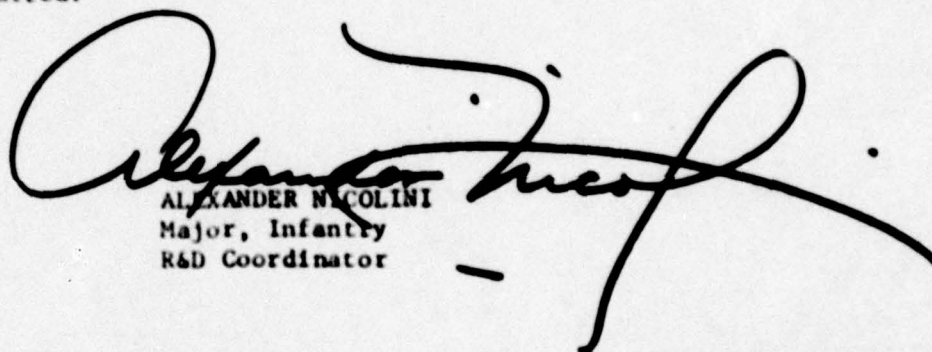
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FOR THE CHIEF:



ALEXANDER NICOLINI
Major, Infantry
R&D Coordinator

FOREWORD

The purpose of this orientation packet is to provide the Army's leaders with a broad overview of the Department of the Army Race Relations Programs, a historical background of minority groups within the military service, courses of action to relieve racial tension within the Army, and the effects racial tension has on the Army's capability to accomplish its mission.

The United States Army Infantry School has developed this guidebook specifically for officers and noncommissioned officers. The series of articles and statements should broaden your knowledge and awareness needed in facing one of the most pressing problems in our society today. It should be evident that absorbing the material contained herein will not make an individual an expert but should only be used as a starting point in their educational process. In order to advance your level of expertise every officer and noncommissioned officer in the Army should continue to read up-dated periodicals, social psychology, history and sociology texts. Knowledge derived from advanced references such as these will better prepare you to offer your subordinates the most professional leadership, unhampered by biases or lack of knowledge in this critical area.

The sample twelve hour seminar in Section 1 will give the discussion leader an idea as to the recommended breakdown of the instruction and some techniques for small group seminars. Keep in mind that this is only a recommended seminar and does not take into consideration the geographic locations, and educational levels of participants.

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INTRODUCTION

↙ The leader must stay abreast of the racial climate within the unit in which he serves. He cannot allow himself to become placable or stale in his approach to solving any racial problem that should occur within the unit. Therefore, it may be a question of whether the commander will or will not admit the fact, that there is a problem, and that there are actual or potential problems in every military unit without exception.

The question is "how may this problem be most effectively eliminated?" Present racial conflicts must be resolved and the seeds of future disharmony be anticipated and prevented from taking root. With the information contained herein we shall attempt to provide you with possible courses of action in preventing or eliminating racial disharmony within your units.

↘ The purpose of this packet is to provide the leader with the necessary information to initiate a race relations education program within his unit. The four sections are targeted at three basic areas; Race Relations (RR)/Equal Opportunity (EO) management (Army Policy), Historical Background, and Social Concepts. These areas represent the leader's responsibilities, and a knowledge of them is basic to the establishment of an effective unit race relations education program. ↙

Section I discusses a sample twelve hour program and some techniques of implementing the program. This program is not designed specifically for every unit in the Army. Every leader must tailor his program to fit his particular situation.

Section II discusses the Army's policies and programs to relieve racial tension in the Army and all aspects of race relations training in the Army. The knowledge of what is required of each leader and what is being done throughout the Army will be invaluable to the leader. Also discussed in this section are affirmative action plans, management of race relations (RR)/equal opportunity (EO) resources, and monitoring of race relations (RR)/equal opportunity (EO) programs.

Section III is a historical background of minority groups within the military. In order to understand the problems of minority soldiers, the leader must have an understanding of the soldier himself. Communications, or a lack of it is a continuing problem. By knowing the historical background of different ethnic and racial minorities the leader can better understand contemporary factors influencing minority groups and their behavior primarily due to different cultural backgrounds.

Section IV is a discussion of Social Concepts. Prejudice, bigotry, discrimination, stereotyping, rumors and racism are all problems to varying degrees in our society today. The effective leader must understand these concepts and their affects on his unit. Section IV also contains selected readings on disorder in units.

The leader's ability to establish an effective race relations education program in his unit depends on his knowledge of race relations and his ability to communicate that knowledge. Although there are many agencies available to assist the leader, the final responsibility for having positive race relations rests squarely on the leader's shoulders.

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SECTION I

This section is designed to give you some suggestions on establishing a race relations education program for leaders in your unit. The sample 12-hour program is intended as a guide to assist you in initiating the program that best suits your situation.

A. **SAMPLE TWELVE-HOUR SEMINAR.** The Race Relations Officer (RRO)/Noncommissioned Officer (NCO) will develop the 12-hour seminar around three main themes:

1. Race Relations (RR)/Equal Opportunity (EO) Management (Army Policy): The RRO/NCO should discuss Army race relations policies and goals as they apply to each unit's unique situation well enough to set the tone of the race relations educational program within the unit.

2. Historical Background: Understanding that the racial problems in the Army are an extension of those in the Civilian Community and that the leader must have a knowledge of all cultural elements represented can be accomplished by discussing the historical background of the various ethnic and racial groups in the Army today.

3. Social Concepts: Prejudice, racism, stereotypes, and rumor may be used to lead into a discussion on the methods of preventing or eliminating the causes of disorder in units.

B. THE FOLLOWING IS A SUGGESTED TIME BREAKDOWN THAT MAY BE ALLOTTED TO EACH SUBJECT AREA.

1. <u>RR/EO Management (Army Policy)</u>	3 Hours
a. Army policy and programs to relieve racial tension	25 min
b. Affirmative actions plan	50 min
c. Management of RR/EO resources	25 min
d. Monitoring of RR/EO programs	25 min
e. Race relations training in the Army	25 min
2. <u>Historical Background</u>	3 Hours
a. Spanish speaking Americans	25 min
b. Indian	25 min
c. Chinese	25 min
d. Japanese	25 min
e. White	25 min
f. Black	25 min
3. <u>Social Concepts</u>	6 Hours
a. Stereotypes	50 min
b. Rumors	50 min

c. Racism	100 min
d. Disorder in the unit	50 min
e. Prejudice	50 min

C. PROCEDURE FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF 12-HOUR SEMINAR.

The Race Relation Officer/NCO (Team) will organize their military unit into small groups of 25 (or less) after the initial phase has been presented to the Commander and his Staff, and to all Command types including Senior NCOs.

The initial phase will be presented primarily to peer groups. The succeeding phases will favor more heterogeneous groupings.

As stated above, the method recommended is the small seminar or discussion group. The seminar process requires that the views of all of the participants be given equal consideration and mutual respect.

The objective of the seminar is to facilitate constructive dialogue on race relations at every level within the military in order to reduce racial tension and possible violence at that particular duty station and throughout the Armed Services. Some racial problems are on a personal level and require only that a participant examine and correct his own inter-racial behavior. Other racial problems are on an organizational level and require command action to correct. The primary educational training aid will be the situation-simulation film providing an inter-racial incident escalating into threatened or actual violence. Command awareness of and proper reaction to real or imagined racial discrimination is essential at this point. When a problem is identified and a solution arrived at by the seminar group, the RRO/NCO should assist in putting the solution into the form of a recommendation to the appropriate local commander.

D. SUGGESTIONS FOR THE COMMANDER IN THE UTILIZATION OF THE RRO/NCO (TEAM).

1. Small Discussion Groups are Recommended: The plan proposed here using the small discussion method is recommended for at least the initial stages of the program.

2. Education is the Primary Mission: Commanders are urged to respect the primary purpose of the RRO/NCO's training and that is to conduct a program of education in race relations for all members of the military unit. It was not intended that he be used as a "fireman" to put out racial conflagrations or as an "informer" to turn in or report on "troublemakers." He must have the confidence of all the personnel he is trying to teach.

Finally, the RRO/NCO will not be able to show immediate results. Education is a long term growth process.

3. Be Involved - Encourage Communication... Especially in the initial stages of the program, it is essential that the commander be visible and participate directly in the program. If it is generally understood that you, as commander, will not tolerate behavior that is discriminatory, this will have an influence on improving the racial climate in your organization.
.... But keep a low profile.

As commander, your presence will be appreciated if it is in a supportive role, but any effort on your part to control the seminar and its conclusions will destroy its effectiveness as a means of insuring group response and proper resolution of the problems proposed. Confer with your race relations team after the seminars for best results. Both the team and the seminar participants must be constantly assured of your confidence and sincere belief in the program.

4. Support your Race Relations Team: Let it be known to all under your command that this team has been selected by you and trained for a particular task - that of assisting you in achieving racial harmony throughout your unit and that you support enthusiastically the educational program they are conducting under your direction for all military personnel.

5. Be Receptive to Recommendations: One of the results of successful racial seminars at your installation will be constructive recommendations for change or improvement. Obviously, you, as commander, must weigh the quality and practicality of these recommendations. However, racial violence in your organization as a method of focusing attention on the problems will be displaced by the racial seminar method and therefore the recommendations received by you from these sessions should be of great assistance in determining future policy in the area of race relations for your unit.

Commanders must be careful to honor essential ground rules. No participant in a seminar is to be punished or rebuked for freely expressing his views so long as these remarks do not develop into verbal abuse or character defamation. Otherwise, the seminar method loses its credibility and effectiveness.

6. Keep Informed: Race relations is a delicate issue in the country today. It is also an issue which has constantly changing aspects and priorities. The well informed commander is the one who is kept currently informed. This is an area in which your race relations team is most qualified to assist you. They can provide you with the most up to date reading material on the race issue in America. Communications on race relations begins with your appointed team. It does not stop there. It is imperative that from time to time you talk directly with all ranks and racial groups. In other words, make yourself available and make it known through the channels open to you that you are available.

Ready Access to all Levels of Command: It is equally essential that your race relations team have easy access to the rest of the leadership in your unit, that they also respect the unique role of these men and the need for support all along the chain of command. While there should be established early a good working relationship between the RRO/NCO team and such staff agencies as minority affairs officers, equal opportunity officers, etc., it must also be made clear that while the primary role of these other agencies is crisis intervention, the task of the RRO/NCO is a preventive function.

Relationship to "Informal" Leaders: Besides formal, designated leaders, every unit has its "informal leaders" who strongly influence the ethnic minorities. Your race relations team will need to communicate with these informal leaders, evaluate their position and secure their constructive involvement in your program.

Communication with Community Leaders: The RRO must have easy and direct access to the office responsible for community relations in his military unit. This is part of a preventive program in race relations to know what the community is thinking and conversely to have community leaders aware of the efforts within the military to deal effectively with social issues.

Need for Black Leadership: Many young black servicemen at this stage in history are not in the least responsive to the leadership of majority group institutions which have served to limit participation by blacks in the economic system of their communities.

If the civilian black leadership, with a substantial black constituency, is kept informed of your progress, and they are convinced of your constructive efforts to bring about positive change in the area of race relations, then your job as a commander should be greatly eased in the area of race relations.

7. Remove all Vestiges of Personal and Institutional Racism in Your Organization: If your race relations educational program is to be accepted by the minority group members of your command, then instances of personal and institutional racism must be eliminated. Some instances of institutional racism which can be detected in military organizations are the following:

- a. Misuse of command responsibility, e.g., discriminating against minority groups sharing fairly in the reward of military service under the guise of insuring discipline.
- b. Uncritical use of test scores to select men for promotion, educational advancement, etc.
- c. Ignorance of minority values, cultural practices, etc., leading to unintentional discrimination.

In this very difficult area of race relations, if an individual is not a part of the solution to the problem, he is part of the problem and you as commander do not need more problems in this area - you need more solutions.

E. SEMINAR LEADING TECHNIQUES.

1. General Comments:

- a. The seminar leader must radiate positive interest and concern for the men. His bearing and every action must demonstrate his self-confidence and sincere desire to talk with, not to, his men.
- b. A seminar is not a briefing. To be effective it must be informal with the clear understanding that discussion will be open without fear of reprisals. The tone is that of a "man to man" discussion similar to an officers call.
- c. A seminar differs from an interview in that the leader must relate himself to the group rather than to an individual. Although the leader will want to understand each individual, he has the responsibility of keeping the other members of the group involved. A prolonged two-way exchange with one participant is to be avoided.
- d. Be prepared to admit that error or injustice has occurred. Recognize the fact that they may be a result of your own ignorance or misinformation. Be able to say "I don't know", "I was wrong", or "I am confused."
- e. The leader must be prepared to assume the role of active listener; understanding the participants thoughts and feelings rather than evaluating or acting as a judge. People don't show themselves "as they are" in front of a judge. Instead, they try to appear the way they think the judge would want them to be.

2. Characteristics of Groups:

- a. A leader must recognize that a group is composed of subgroups which may have a unique mentality different from the total group.
- b. In order to be a member of a group some intimate, personal experiences and views will have to be shared. In order for a person to be willing to make such a sacrifice he has to feel relatively safe. The leader is responsible for establishing this type of safe atmosphere for the group.
- c. Any working group periodically has problems; in fact if everything is going along quite smoothly, the group should consider what isn't being discussed.
- d. Groups sometimes want an organized presentation and more concrete ideas. This is really an attempt to avoid the task and depend on the seminar leader.
- e. *Troops often times will respond unreasonably to authority because of their own previous conflicts with the authority of their parents. This concept helps the leader to better understand why an individual will initially avoid coming to him with his problems.*

3. Scene Setting and Preparations for Seminars:

- a. The place selected for your seminar must be of a size to comfortably accommodate the group. It should be an area usually considered "EM Country", such as the dayroom or mess hall.
- b. The time selected should be one at which the soldier can reasonably be expected to be mentally alert and capable of participation.
- c. The length of the meeting should not exceed 1 1/2 hours. A statement should be made at the beginning of the period pertaining to exactly how long the meeting is planned to last.
- d. The seminar leader should be present in the room before the arrival of the men. In this manner he will avoid the "grand entrance of the commander" which would tend to isolate him from his men.
- e. The leader should not use a speaker stand or stage as they often tend to be barriers to discussion and thus separate the leader from the group.

f. The use of a public address system should be avoided as it would greatly detract from the personal contact vital to the successful conduct of the seminar.

g. Chairs should be available for all persons ideally arranged in a semi-circle with provisions made for smoking.

h. Officers and NCO's should avoid grouping together in the audience.

i. Designate an individual to keep notes so that a report to the troops can be prepared at the end of the seminar, describing the topics discussed and any actions taken. The names of any individuals who present problems or topics should not be recorded. This report should then be posted on the unit bulletin board.

4. Seminar Techniques:

a. The leader should always state the purpose of the discussion as early as possible in his presentation. He should also mention that the discussion will be a "group effort." Put the expectation on the group to maintain control of itself. Each man in the group must feel a personal obligation to help the group succeed.

b. If there is silence at the first meeting, it may be due to an unexpressed fear of reprisal. Verbalize this with them and restate the "no reprisal" policy.

c. Be sensitive to guarded expressions of resentment such as spontaneous side comments. These will give you rapid indication of group attitudes. Don't be blinded by concentration only on the line of thought on which you embarking.

d. Use candor in your answers. Do not just give the "company line" permitting the subject to drop.

e. Use simple language in your discussion without talking down to the men. Many may well be more intelligent or better educated than you.

f. Use interested people in the meeting to take part in the actions. Call on them to respond to your questions. These interested individuals from the group will encourage other group members to talk openly.

g. Encourage general participation. Do more listening and less talking; helping the men to be more involved. Your role is that of a seminar guide, not a lecturer or a briefing officer.

h. As leader you may be puzzled as to where the group is at a certain point in time. If this occurs, you should establish what the subject of the discussion is and then continue, returning discussion to a productive vein. A technique sometimes used is to call upon a member of the group to summarize for the group.

i. One method you may use to initiate involvement might be to ask someone to respond verbally to the (a) situation.

j. If the group seems to be nonresponsive, point this out to them, and ask them for help. Remind them that the success of the seminar is the responsibility of all members of the group.

k. Groups often need clarification, summarization or education as to the issues being discussed to redirect their attention back to the subject at hand. The leader can either perform these functions or; better yet, call upon one of the men to do so.

l. Avoid discussing unique and individual grievances: refer them to appropriate persons or ask the individual to discuss it with you in private.

m. Avoid being too permissive. This lack of adequate organization will produce a rising anxiety. Too rigid a discussion, on the other hand, will inhibit originality and initiative and stifle group participation.

n. Certain topics or problems may lend themselves to resolution by a study group or subcommittee. Appoint a mixture of volunteers, activists and sleepers to spread participation. Be sure that the mission of the study group is specifically understood. Establish interim reports or conferences prior to the next seminar to verify their progress and assist in the resolution of any unforeseen problems.

o. If the group interest dictates, guests speakers or moderators may be invited to participate in later seminars, but don't use this as a substitute for your own involvement.

p. For many problems there are no answers, only approximations. The group needs to understand this.

q. Close the seminar using statements that reveal a sincere desire to continue discussion of this type and to tackle any problems which are surfaced. Be sure your closing words are followed by appropriate actions or behavior. Your sincerity will be judged based primarily on your behavior.

5. Things to be Avoided in the Conduct of A Seminar:

a. Anticipate some difficulty, some tough moments. It is usually a sign of a successful meeting: the true problems are being discussed. A bit of difficulty and anxiety is also an indication that the group does feel a safe atmosphere and that the meeting is supporting them.

b. Many times a group keeps information away from the leader. Seek and demand to be kept informed. Information that is held back might be the key to the problem.

c. Expect the group to test your sincerity and challenge your leadership. If you are a truly sincere, well meaning and intelligent leader, the group will not allow you to be verbally destroyed.

d. A leader should not feel the necessity or the responsibility to answer or respond to all comments. When asked a question directly, the leader might respond, "Good question, how do you men feel about that?"

e. Hearing other people express their opinions does not imply a majority rule. It more approximately means that you as a leader want as much information as possible before arriving at your decision. If you lead the group to believe that they are making the decision, rather than recommending to you, you are paving the way for increased dissatisfaction.

f. If one of the individuals in the group grows agitated and begins to talk incoherently, calmly ask him to slow down, relax, and rephrase or repeat what he has already stated. Do not show hostility towards him, as this will only agitate him further. You must concentrate on your own self-control. One approach might be to say something like "I want to hear what you have to say (reference content) but the way you are saying it is making me angry. If we want these meetings to be constructive, we must show respect for one another even though we disagree."

g. Groups may tend to be irrational (distort facts) and moody (as an individual) in order to avoid the job at hand. If this happens the leader should stop the discussion momentarily, restate the purpose of the meeting, reemphasize the group's (individual) role in the discussion, and then continue with the meeting. Your group should not consistently have a negative, nonproductive personality. Ask yourself if you were not the cause of the negative response. Think what you can say and do next time to allow a more open and free thinking discussion.

h. Do not let the discussion get inflammatory or personal in a derogatory way. Allow for criticism of individuals only when it is constructive.

i. Beware of the groups ability to pit a commanders' staff (XO, First Sergeant) against him. This type of family fight just allows the group to look on and laugh, but does not fulfill the mission of the meeting. The leader should recognize the responsibilities and areas of his subordinates and be careful not to undermine them in the meetings.

SECTION II

RR/EO MANAGEMENT (ARMY PROGRAMS)

This section discusses the Army's policies and programs to relieve racial tension in the Army and all aspects of Race Relations training in the Army.

The knowledge of what is required of each leader and what is being done throughout the Army will be invaluable to the leader. Also discussed in this section are monitoring of RR/EO programs and management of RR/EO resources.

I. PERCEPTIONS.

There are many commands which have identified some structures, action programs, and methodologies for teaching race relations education and moving toward the elimination of racial discrimination. The Army has taken a strong and unequivocal position with respect to creating equal opportunity and treatment and eliminating racial discrimination. A large number of policies, programs, and actions have been initiated to implement the overall policy expressed in Army Regulation 600-21 in the following way:

It is the policy of the Army to conduct all of its activities in a manner which is free from racial discrimination.... (AR 600-21, 1965)

This diverse assortment of policies and action programs includes, for example:

1. Establishment of the role of Race Relations, Equal Opportunity Treatment (EOT), or Equal Opportunity Office/Officer (EOO).
2. Establishment of Race Relations (or EOT) Councils.
3. Requirements for race relations training in all service schools and in all units.
4. Making appropriate products and services available to minorities on post.
5. Exchanges and other public facilities making an increased effort to meet some of the recurring needs of minorities.
6. Changes in efficiency reports to include rating on EOT performance.
7. Development and initiation of Army-wide Affirmative Action Plans (AAP).

And there are many others. All are aimed in one way or another at reducing racial discrimination and making equal opportunity and treatment a reality. If there is serious intent behind these programs, and there is no obvious reason to question the seriousness of the intent, then they are aimed at producing a massive change in one of the largest institutions in our society, the United States Army. One would not expect that such change can be achieved easily, if indeed it could be achieved at all. Certainly, no tested prescription exists for how it could best be done. There is the need then to look at how these programs are being implemented and learn what makes for program success and what relates to program failure. One place to start is to look at some of these various programs and examine how they are seen and experienced by those they affect.

To enunciate a policy is one thing; how that policy trickles down through the organization and how it gets translated into actions and programs is an entirely different thing. This section is about how equal opportunity and treatment programs are seen and experienced by those people they are designed to affect.

II. OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY.

Over the past several months, the Motivation and Training Laboratory has been engaged in a project which has taken a look, in some depth, at how people in the Army--officers and enlisted, black and white perceive the Army's Equal Opportunity Treatment Programs. On this project, a considerable amount of data which has been collected is thought to be highly pertinent to the subject addressed. Data collection visits were recently completed to thirteen (13) installations in the United States, Germany, Okinawa, and Korea. About 4,000 enlisted personnel responded to a rather lengthy questionnaire about race relations and EOT programs. This enlisted sample is stratified by Grade E2 through E9 and is half white and half black. In addition to the enlisted men questionnaire data, 130 officers in command positions and 130 officers and/or noncommissioned officers who had some specific EOT responsibility were interviewed and given questionnaires. Overall, the team spent over 400 hours face-to-face with these men in semi-structured interviews.

Some of the data Analysis has been done for the first five commands visited. In addition, a number of tentative conclusions were drawn from the interviewing experiences. Thus, these findings are presented with some suggestions of possible action implications to which they may point.

III. REVIEW OF PRELIMINARY FINDINGS.

A. Findings from Enlisted Questionnaires--First, some examples of results from the Enlisted Men's Questionnaire are provided. The questionnaires has 147 items which were divided into the subjects listed in Figure 1

- I. Race Problems in the Army.
- II. EOT Regulations and Procedures.
- III. Promotion, Selection Criteria.
- IV. Military Justice System.
- V. Services and Products Available to Minorities.
- VI. EOT Officer/NCO.
- VII. Off-Post Housing.
- VIII. Race Relations Education.
- IX. Race Relations Seminars and Councils.
- X. Racial Attitudes and Perceptions.

Figure 1. Enlisted questionnaire subjects.

One of the general findings which appears to carry through almost the entire questionnaire is the difference between white perceptions and black perceptions of the same thing. A few examples are in Figure 2.

5. Which of the following statements is closest to your opinion?

White	Black	In general, blacks are treated:
32%	2%	a. better than whites in the Army.
58%	23%	b. exactly the same as whites in the Army.
8%	73%	c. worse than whites in the Army.

+++++

6. Which of the following statements is closest to your opinion about Army practices and procedures in general?

White	Black	
53%	25%	a. They are equally fair to blacks and whites.
3%	49%	b. They are fair to whites but not to blacks.
11%	1%	c. They are fair to blacks but not to whites.
31%	21%	d. They are fair to neither blacks nor whites.

Figure 2. EM Survey (preliminary results).

The data reported here is all in percentages and is based on a total of 1,441. The columns do not quite add to 100% because for each question there are a certain number of No Responses. For each question, one might be interested in the percentage that chose each response and also in the differences between responses by whites and blacks. (Since the white and black samples are approximately equal, the total percentage for any given response is close to the average between the black and white percentage.)

These then are some samples of examples of the findings. Although they are based on only part of the total sample, it is doubtful that the final figures will be very different. Other factors have not been analyzed yet. For example, the differences between commands and how age, education, time in the Army, etc., affect the results. The observation can be made, however, that this repetitious pattern of differences in the perceptions of blacks and whites is one of the major sources of communication difficulties between the two races.

B. Findings from Interviews. Some of the findings from the interviews are interesting. A sample of 130 officers in command positions (in grades from Major General to Second Lieutenant) and 130 officers or NCOs who had specific EOT program responsibilities were interviewed. The interviews were different from the two groups, but both focused on race relations in the Army and EOT programs. In addition to these interviews, both samples were also given a multiple choice item questionnaire to complete, but the questionnaire data has not been analyzed as yet.

The officers' interview consisted of 23 fairly general questions about race relations and EOT programs. Most of these questions were also asked in more specific form in the questionnaire. In the interview, the primary purpose was to create a situation where commanders would give their views on a wide range of different aspects of the problem without being limited by the confines of multiple choice items. In this way, it was thought a better understanding of the thoughts and feelings that lay behind particular responses could be realized, and, in general, would facilitate the findings. Such questions as the following were asked:

1. How would you describe the nature of the race problem in the Army and what causes it?
2. How serious is the racial problem of the Army today? Or: How serious is the racial problem the Army faces today?
3. What is your general opinion of the Army's EOT programs?
4. To your knowledge, have EOT programs had any impact on the members of your unit?

The interview with EOT personnel was divided into two major parts. Part I dealt with questions about a draft handbook entitled, Improving Race Relations in the Army-Guidelines for Leaders, which they had been given to read several days before the interview. Critical feedback was sought on the handbook on which to base a final revision. Part II of the interview concerned the person's experiences in whatever EOT job he had.

There was no opportunity to analyze the interview data systematically. However, over the course of some 400 hours of interviewing, many strong impressions began to emerge among the interviewers, and it is these impressions which are important.

It is likely that some of these impressions will have to be modified on the basis of further analysis of the data, it is suspected that the main change will be to add to the list. What follows, then, are a number of impressions gained from over seventy-five interviews which were conducted by the interviewers. About half the interviews were conducted by black interviewers and half by white interviewers. The impressions are not given here in any particular order.

1. Overview.

A general overview is as follows: While EOT programs are still likely to be mostly paper programs, there is definite movement toward their becoming real programs, and, in some instances, they are having the intended effects. There is far greater awareness of the nature of the race problem and the need for EOT programs at higher levels of command than at lower levels. At company or battery level, there is a growing resistance to EOT programs coupled with an almost total lack of knowledge of what they are. There is a tendency for commanders, especially at lower levels, to see EOT programs as weakening the chain of command, decreasing mission effectiveness, and lowering standards in general. One of the strongest impressions was that race relations training was, in fact, having a marked impact on attitudes, understanding, and behavior of white commanders in particular. Lastly, it was felt that the role of the EOT or Race Relations Officer has some built-in dilemmas for the man who occupies the role. It is appropriate to amplify a bit on the different components of this overview.

2. Negative Views of EOT.

First, opinions about EOT programs are by no means universally negative. The majority view of the programs by commanders is negative even where they subscribe to the general goal of equal opportunity. The following is a series of quotes from the interviews:

1. "I'm for equal opportunity, but EOT programs are just giving special treatment to blacks--they're just "blacks-getting-over" programs."
2. "These programs are just one more way of weakening the chain of command and taking authority away from the commander."
3. "EOT programs are causing race problems--the more you talk about racial differences and the more you put emphasis on them, the more trouble you're going to have. Putting emphasis on the problem just exacerbates it."
4. "We put a stop to EOT Councils around here--they just subverted the whole concept of a proper chain of command."
5. "We have an EOT officer and EOT Council meetings, but nothing related to EOT ever comes up--they just complain about things like food in the mess hall and other things not related to EOT."
6. "We had a pretty good program going that was working pretty well and the DA (Department of the Army) came out with a directive that said we had to do it their way. But their way doesn't work in our situation."
7. "I don't see that EOT programs help the commander. They're just another requirement he has to meet which isn't really related to his primary mission."

These indicate many of the elements of the generally bad image EOT has. The impression is that the bad image does not come as a response to EOT programs as they actually are because most commanders have little idea of what they are. Rather, it is thought that many commanders have constructed an "image" of equal opportunity treatment (EOT) from fantasy and projections, and it is that image which they value so negatively. The views of white commanders are significant to this point.

A significant view encountered among some black commanders and a larger proportion of black NCOs is the view that EOT is a rather cynically motivated pacification program aimed soely at keeping the lid on, holding down the number of violent incidents, but in no way committed to producing the changes that would eliminate root causes. The other view expressed frequently by blacks is that, although they believe the Department of the Army is seriously committed to equal opportunity and treatment, they do not believe that command (from about the brigade level down) is so committed, and suspect that they are generally preventing the program from being implemented. Many expressed a hopefulness that this may be changing some for the better.

Among enlisted men, the impression is that there may be even less knowledge and understanding than among commanders. Less than 50% of them are aware that an EOT office exists on their post.

3. Limited Understanding of What EOT Programs Are All About.

It is mentioned above that commanders with many exceptions, had very little accurate information about what EOT programs were all about. What they did believe them to be should be instructive to anyone trying to publicize EOT programs. First, very few commanders had an idea of what the goals and purposes of EOT were. They supposed them to be programs to help blacks. They also tended to see EOT as a glorified complaint system, clearly usurping some of the proper functions of the Inspector General. Where they did see race relations education as a proper EOT function, they tended to see the focus of such training as being on eliminating prejudice and fostering better communications. Few commanders related EOT programs to the goal of eliminating racial discrimination. In this connection, most commanders tended to see the race problem in the Army in individual and interpersonal terms. Except among those who had undergone some race relations training, there were very few familiar with the concept of institutional racism or institutional discrimination and how EOT programs might be related to these concepts. One final aspect of the way in which EOT programs were frequently perceived is the emphasis on their reactive rather than proactive functions. Commanders would, in some cases, make the problems of race relations more complex by attempting to correlate racial conflicts and role conflicts without understanding that roles do not have attitudes and roles do not engage in behavior (Jones, p. 171). Commanders would use EOT personnel to investigate complaints, to try to clam down flare-ups in the clubs, bars, etc., but were much less likely to permit or encourage their EOT personnel to undertake training or other preventative or proactive courses of action. One EOT officer phrased it this way:

"They only call on me when there is trouble: I've been trying to get a training program approved for six months, without success, but we had just one little riot, and the next day it was approved."

To a large extent, the military community is a mirror reflection of the larger society. There is still a crying need for commanders and staffs to understand that it is important to creatively balance an understanding of individuals, their behavior, their attitudes, and the social milieu within which tasks, missions, and people are socialized.

4. Differences Among Commands.

It was a distinct impression from the visits to 13 major commands in the United States, Germany, Korea and Okinawa, that there were marked differences in knowledge of and support for EOT programs. These differences were mostly reflected among top command because there was far less difference among the 13 commands at company/battery and battalion levels. That is, it is not certain that the differences in top command were yet reflected at lower levels. Probably they will be so reflected, but it has not occurred yet. On the one extreme, commands were found in which commanders can be described as being highly educated on racial issues and acutely aware of the racial

climate and the problems in their command and completely committed to the goals of EOT and the active eradication of racial discrimination. Most of these reported recent experiences in some race relations education activities which had profoundly influenced their thinking. On the other extreme, commanders were found who could not fairly be described as having any awareness at all on racial issues, nor any accurate comprehension of the goals of EOT. They were generally aware that they had better "mouth" acceptance and support of EOT no matter what they really thought of it. Such commanders tended to see equal opportunity and equal treatment programs as obstacles to mission performance, at best, and at worst, they identified EOT programs as the cause of the Army's race problems. They typically expressed the conviction that entirely too much publicity and attention was being given to a nonexistent problem. Since these commanders were frequently of the opinion that there was no real race problem in the Army, EOT was seen as an overreactive or "trumped-up" program.

Another aspect of the differences among commands was the way in which the race problem was defined. On the other hand, the basic problem was frequently defined as that of violent incidents. Among people holding this view, the solution was seen as involving keeping the lid on racial violence. While containing racial violence is clearly necessary, it is also clear that such action is symptom treatment only and is not directed at removing the root causes of continuing racial tensions.

On the other hand, there were other commanders who said they had come to see that the basic problem was a difference in treatment between blacks and whites and that the solution lay, ultimately, in finding ways to eliminate the difference.

5. Marked Impact of Race Relations Training.

One of the strongest impressions gained was that race relations training was making a big difference in how commanders understood the race problem. While only a minority of the total number had had a race relations training experience, it was extremely clear that those who had, tended to express quite different perceptions and understandings of the race problem and of EOT programs than did those who had not received such training. In general, those with race relations training tended to be far more supportive of EOT programs and to express knowledge of and concurrence with the purposes of the programs than did those without such training. The training is typically a two to three-day seminar-type session frequently conducted by Defense Race Relations Institute (DRRI) graduates. One of the needs most frequently expressed by higher commanders was the need for training in race relations for all commanders.

6. The Shift in Attitudes Occurring at Battalion Level.

Another impression, to which of course there were many exceptions, was that an attitudinal watershed seemed to exist at about battalion level. Above battalion level, there was a tendency for the attitudes of commanders toward EOT programs to be predominantly positive, while below that level, they tended to be predominantly negative. It was also true that most of the officers who had received some race relations educational experience were at brigade level and above.

7. Problems and Dilemmas of EOT Personnel.

Another set of clear-cut impressions concerned the problems and dilemmas of EOT personnel. There were several of these.

First, was the overall lack of training in the performance of their job and the general absence of guidance in any form. There were people designated as EOT officers at brigade and battalion levels, who had never seen an EOT regulation, did not know they existed, and had no concept of their job other than that they were supposed to be some kind of a complaint department.

On the other hand, EOT personnel, of whom many were black, suffered from a different common problem--the questioning of their loyalty and commitment to the Army by their commanders. Many of these were people who took their jobs totally seriously and worked at them far beyond the call of normal duty. But because their's is a job which sometimes involves the bearing of unwanted news, the surfacing of unwanted problems, and the stepping on toes of some people, their loyalty and commitment to the Army sometimes gets called unfairly into question. These are men or women with 10, 15,

18 years in the Army, many of whom could not be more loyal nor could they work harder to serve the Army. But, by virtue of misunderstanding of the nature and requirements of their job, they are often made to feel as rejected and outcast from the Army they are sincerely and strenuously striving to serve. This phenomenon does little to encourage good men to serve in EOT positions.

The above factor is related in part to the basic dilemma of EOT personnel. That is, that if they do their job well, they will necessarily be stepping on some people's toes. If they do not, it is probably a measure of their failure to detect anything that needs changing. Since the toes on which they step are likely to belong to those who are their seniors and superiors, doing their job well can be painful to them and even injurious to their future career. Failure to do their job is quickly perceived by enlisted men and can lead to a seriously undermined reputation. In a few cases a black EOT officer who clearly avoided stepping on anybody's toes was referred to contemptuously by black enlisted men as the "General's Nigger" or the "Colonel's Nigger" as the case may be. Such EOT officers frequently appeared to enjoy the confidence of command even though they were distrusted and sometimes despised by EM.

In some commands the calibre of EOT personnel was unusually mediocre. In some cases it seemed the quality of the person assigned to EOT responsibilities was a measure of the degree of command support for the program.

One final observation on EOT personnel problems is that frequently the EOT officer or NCO was either too high ranking and/or too old to be an effective communicator with young enlisted men. It is suggested that some EOT personnel at the Specialist Four level and below are needed, especially if communication is to be effected with those young EM who have real needs for EOT services and programs.

8. The Officer Efficiency Report (OER) Rating of Performance In Support of Equal Opportunity and Treatment.

One question asked commanders was what they thought about the rating required on the OER concerning performance on equal opportunity and treatment. With few exceptions there was almost unanimous and strongly voiced opposition to that requirement. The reasons given for opposing it were largely that, in its present form, it was meaningless. Each command tended to work out a particular rubber stamp statement that was invariably used. One officer interviewed, whose most recent assignment had involved reviewing the OERs of some 14,000 officers - Colonels and below - stated that they were all rated essentially the same; all were rated as having good performance in the area of EOT programs. Even among those who are in favor of such a rating being made, most were dissatisfied with the present requirement because no guidance was provided which defined good and poor performance in this area.

9. Feedback Information for the Handbook.

It was mentioned earlier that one of the objectives was to obtain feedback information to a handbook for leaders providing guidelines for improving race relations. This handbook had been prepared on a previous project and was provided during the field visits to potential users to read it and provide feedback on their reaction to it. On the basis of their feedback, it is intended that a final version be prepared.

One hundred and thirty officers and noncommissioned officers read the handbook and were interviewed and given a questionnaire on it. The feedback was almost universally favorable, indicating that there was a high need for such materials and that the particular handbook was highly responsive to those needs. In general, only minor modifications were indicated. In addition to the overwhelmingly favorable interview comments, other evidence that the handbook was meeting needs included the fact that many instructors in race relations had immediately begun to incorporate materials from the handbook into their lesson plans and almost all readers requested that they be permitted to keep their copy. In addition, in two major commands, the Commanding General had the handbook reproduced and directed that all his commanders read it.

IV. THE SUCCESS OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY/TREATMENT IN THE ARMY.

Much of what has been reported so far has tended to be critical of various aspects of EOT programs and to highlight their weaknesses and inadequacies. If one is committed to improving program effectiveness such a focus is right and proper. However, by such an emphasis it is not intended to present a distorted or unduly negative picture of the Army's success in eliminating racial discrimination. To the contrary, the Army as a total organization has been more successful in this regard than any other major institution in American society. The Army, in fact, has an impressive story to tell because it offers one of the only examples available of how an organization can, in cold, hard objective terms, successfully undertake the process of eliminating the fact of racial discrimination.

These comments are supported with some data. First, it is possible to develop objective measures of institutional racial discrimination which can help lift the debate out of the quagmire of strongly-held personal convictions and opinions of individuals. To the extent such measures can be devised, it is possible to then measure the degree of success that an organization has in achieving its stated goal of eliminating racial discrimination.

To illustrate this contention, one example is presented. It is proposed that racial discrimination in an organization be measured by correlations between skin color and what happens to people in that organization.

Such hypothetical examples are shown in Figure 9. Two situations are shown here. In Situation A, the higher the grade, the smaller the percentage of blacks in that grade. This perfect staircase shows that there is a high correlation between grade and skin color. It is this pattern which is still generally found in all organizations in any society. In contrast, in Situation B, the same total percentage of blacks is seen as in Situation A, but they are distributed differently across grades. There is no predictable pattern in Situation B--essentially blacks are distributed randomly across grades. In other words, in Situation A something is operating such that blacks are treated systematically differently than whites; whereas, in Situation B, there is no indication that blacks and whites are being treated differently, at least on this one dimension. It is possible to reflect the difference between Situations A and B by calculating the correlation coefficient between grade and percentage of blacks in grade. This can be done by rank ordering the percentages and calculating a rank order correlation coefficient. If one calculates a correlation coefficient for Situation A, it would be high, approaching 1.0. If one calculates the correlation coefficient for Situation B, it would be low, approaching zero. Such correlation coefficients are measures of the degree of institutional discrimination within an organization. This is an example of correlation on one such dimension here, but clearly one could develop correlations for a whole array of such dimensions which would provide an objective reflection of the ways in and extent to which people with different colored skins are treated differently in that organization. Notice that such measures do not say anything at all about whether the difference in treatment is intended or not; they only indicate the extent to which differences exist.

The four services compare on the measure just described as follows:

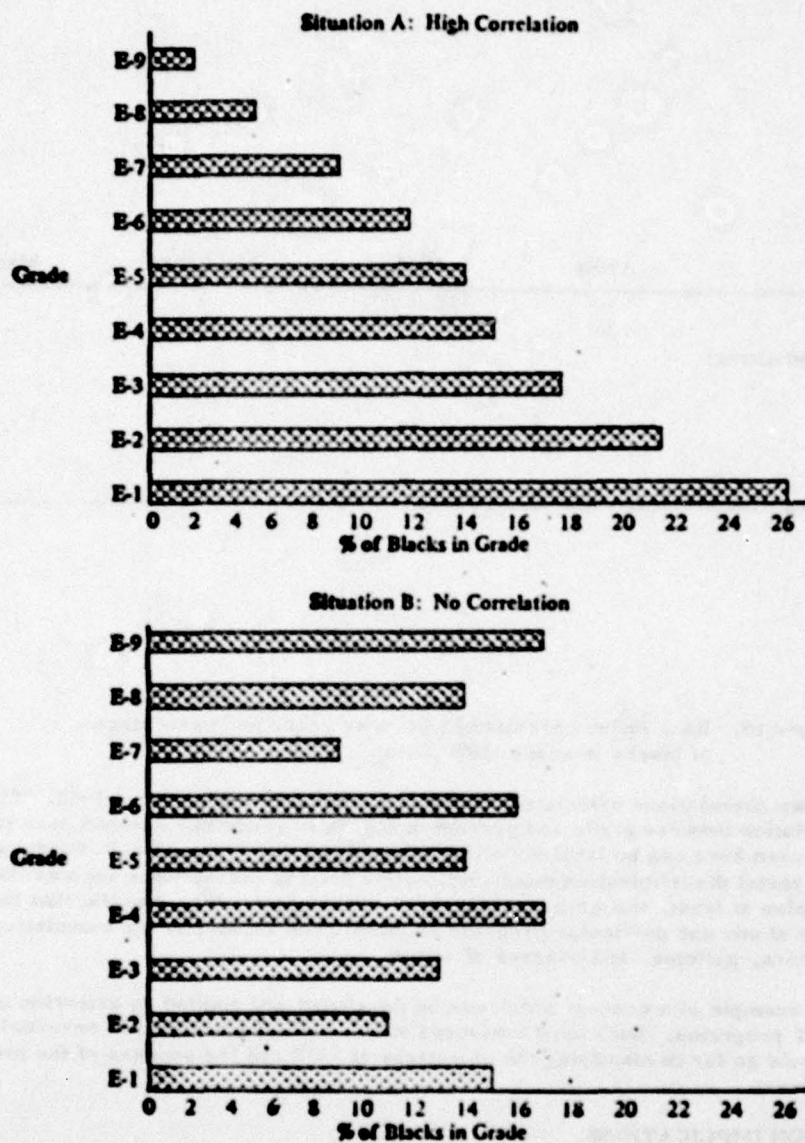


Figure 9. Illustrative example showing comparison of high and low measures of institutional racial discrimination.

In Figure 10, the correlation coefficients for each of the services and for officers and enlisted men are presented separately. It is seen that, at least on this measure, the Army is far ahead of the other services. The correlations for the Army are low and are getting close to zero, whereas the correlations for the other services are high, especially regarding officers, where the correlations are almost as high as they can get. In other words, a picture in the other three services is much closer to the stairstep in Situation A, while the Army is closer to the random distribution of Situation B. Now, let us look at these two correlations for the Army over time.

	Army	Navy	Air Force	Marines
Officers (WO through O-7 and above)	.26	.99	.99	.99
Enlisted Men (E-1 through E-9)	.23	.68	.95	.73

Figure 10. Rank order correlations between grade and percentage of blacks in grade (1970 Data).

In Figure 11, these two correlations calculated for the Army for every year since 1962. This gives a look at how the correlation between grade and percent of blacks in grade has changed over this time period. The picture seen here can be labeled "eliminating racial discrimination." By the above concept, eliminating racial discrimination means ultimately driving correlations such as these to zero. On this dimension at least, the Army is way ahead of the game. It is doubtful that this change has occurred because of any one particular program or factor, but rather, is the cumulative effect of many different factors, policies, and courses of action.

This is only one example of a concept which can be developed and applied as criterion measures of the success of EOT programs. Such hard measures which avoid the problem of personal opinion and anecdotal data could go far in clarifying the objectives of EOT and the success of the program in meeting those objectives:

V. POSSIBLE ACTION IMPLICATIONS.

So far some indication of the kinds of findings that will come from the study has been presented. However, what action implications do these findings have? Just as the findings are preliminary, so must be the conclusions drawn from them. Still, there are a number of implications for possible actions which the Army may wish to consider. In this final section are descriptions of some of the courses of action suggested by the findings.

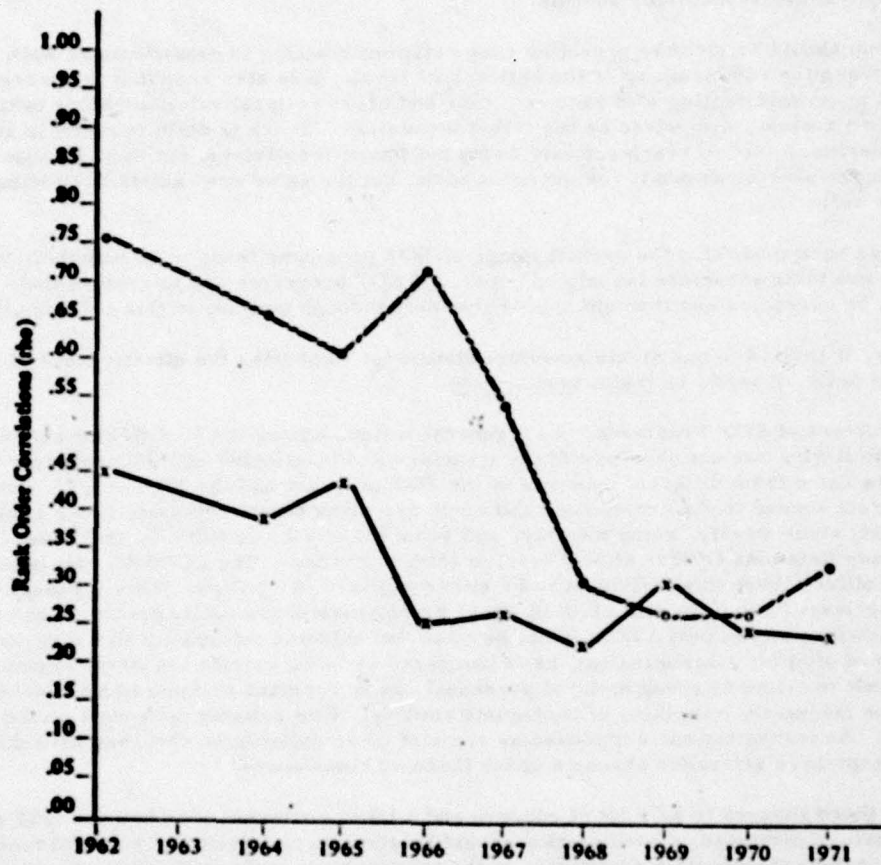


Figure 11. Rank order correlations between grade and percentage of blacks in grade in the U.S. Army for the years 1962 through 1971 (1963 Data Not Available).

A. Race Relations Training. The strongest message in the data so far is the need for race relations training at all levels in the Army. It is suspected that the ultimate acceptance and success of EOT programs will be dependent on the extent and quality of race relations training. As I indicated earlier, in commands where there had been little or no training, the climate and the soil were not supportive of EOT programs, whereas, they generally were where there had been training. This impression was so pronounced that it may make sense to require race relations training from the top down before seriously introducing EOT concepts and programs. This suggestion is made because it may be that trying to initiate EOT programs without such prior training may actually be counter-productive with respect to the goals of the programs. For top command at brigade level and above, a training experience similar to the two-day Executive Seminars in Race Relations which has been developed and used in the Navy would be most appropriate. For commands at lower levels, the DRRI 18-hour course is probably suitable. In addition, our findings would definitely support the inclusion of race relations training at all Army schools.

Consideration should be given to providing race relations training to dependents as well. There is definitely a place for such training at the high school level. It is also seen that there are apparently successful programs dealing with race relations and cross cultural relations being initiated and run by servicemen's wives, with wives as the target population. There is definite merit in such programs and a critical need to reach not only Army personnel themselves, but their families as well. This point was more sharply drawn in the overseas visit, but the same need exists in Continental United States as well.

The point has been made that the overall image of EOT programs tends to be negative, their goals not understood, and their substance largely on paper. If EOT programs are to achieve their purposes, this image must be corrected and it would appear that only through training in this to be done.

In summary, if limited to one single recommendation for improving the effectiveness of EOT programs at this point, it would be train, train, train.

B. The Structure of EOT Programs. As a generalization, among the 13 different commands visited, much similarity was not observed in the structure and functioning of EOT programs. A lot of the differences come from different concepts of the EOT program and the EOT officer. Some EOT officers have direct access to the commander and some are many levels removed. Some report daily to the commander; some weekly, some monthly, and some not at all. In CONUS, the Equal Opportunity Officer or Race Relations Officer at post level is often a civilian. The CONARC regulation which established this office allows this individual to be either military or civilian. Very frequently his training and experience have been with civilian Equal Employment Opportunity problems and in some cases he also functions as the post EEO. While he often has valuable community ties that may be utilized in cases of off-post discrimination, he is hampered by being outside the Army organization. He finds it difficult to relate to young enlisted personnel, he is resented or ignored by the chain of command, and he frequently complains of inadequate staffing. Few enlisted personnel on the post know of his existence. As competent and committed as some of these individuals are, they have difficulty functioning as responsive grievance channels under these circumstances.

In general, there appears to be a lot of concern and a lot of confusion over how the EOT or RRO relates to the chain of command. Consideration should be given to clarifying the role and function of EOT officers to include the possible restriction of the role to Army personnel and the provisions of detailed guidance to commanders on the role, duties, and functions of EOT personnel. Another suggestion in this regard would be to insure that there are low ranking - Spec 4 and below - EM associated with the EOT office. In many instances EM do not utilize the services of the EOT office for the same reasons they don't go to their Commanding Officer or the Inspector General in the first place.

Related to this last comment is an observation concerning the Housing Referral Office which has a potentially great EOT function to perform. In general, newly arriving personnel do not report to the Housing Referral Office in spite of the requirement on their orders that they do so. This fact hampers the Army's Equal Opportunity in Off-Post Housing Program. Whites as well as blacks frequently do not see the off-limits list, and they are not aware of the mechanics of the program. Complaints regarding housing frequently do not reach the Housing Referral Office. Housing Referral Officers are frequently civilians who have many responsibilities in addition to EOT. They complained of inadequate staffing generally, but specifically with regard to racial discrimination in off-post housing, they saw the need for Army personnel on their staff who were better able than they could to relate to the housing problems of minority soldiers.

C. OER and EER Guidance. Another potential action implication concerns the OER and EER requirements for rating performance in the area of equal opportunity. Consideration of two kinds of changes is recommended:

1. Explicit recognition that some roles have far greater requirement for EOT skills and knowledges than others (a line company commander versus a plans and training officer, for example).
2. Provision of specific guidance on how to rate EOT performance. That is, exactly what does good performance or poor performance actually look like? Because such guidance is now lacking, much of the intent behind the requirement for such a rating is lost.

In general, not recommended in dropping the rating, but rather, providing more realistic and specific guidance on just what is to be rated.

D. Public Information Program on EOT. Consideration should be given to how best to publicize EOT so that the prevailing level of ignorance as to what EOT is all about is most effectively raised. Such a program is needed to supplement but not substitute for training in race relations and EOT. Reference materials of all sorts are needed by EOT personnel as well as particular guidance on performing their particular job.

E. Special Requirements for EOT Overseas. Outside CONUS, there exists the special problems that come from interrelationships with indigenous people. It has been observed that most frequently, if training in cross-cultural relations is given, it is being done separately from training in race relations. Consideration should be given to combining these two kinds of training with possible benefits to both. It is true sometimes that the tendency to generalize such training under titles like "Human Relations Training" as being one way of avoiding dealing directly with racial problems is seen. However, that is not a necessary result of the generalization and presumably could be overcome.

F. Enlisted Advisors. One proposition that met with almost universal approval among EM was the idea of using trained lower-ranking black and white enlisted personnel who would be available within each unit to advise soldiers of their legal rights and to act as a source of information. This practice could help overcome the distrust EM have for the entire military justice system and offers one opportunity for the Judge Advocate General (JAG) system to begin to alter the negative image it has among EM. Judge Advocate General officers could provide training to the enlisted advisors and could serve as problem-solving backstops to them.

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These are only a few of the potential implications to which the data might point. Within the next several months the data will be analyzed and more and firm recommendations can be made along these lines.

It is sometimes objected that the kind of data obtained in this study is perceived reality not the actual reality and that courses of action should only be charted on the basis of actual reality. Just because lots of people think that the Uniform Code of Military Justice (UCMJ) is unfairly administered, for example, does not mean that it is and should be changed. That, of course, is true, but it is argued that one should always be looking at both the actual and the perceived reality. If the system is perceived as unfair and it is not unfair in reality, then the task is to educate and convince the misperceivers. If, however, the system is perceived as unfair and in reality is, then the task is to change that reality.

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RACE RELATIONS EDUCATION IN THE ARMY

- In order to comply with Secretary Laird's desires that our equal opportunity programs be institutionalized as a priority management function we have made a complete reassessment of our race relations education efforts.

- The concept of an expanded Army wide race relations education program has been developed, with a view to insuring a comprehensive treatment of the subject on a continuing basis at all levels.

- The program integrates formal instruction in race relations given in the training establishment with a comprehensive program to improve interracial communication - which we call the Racial Awareness Program - in our units.

- To insure our top managers and leaders are sufficiently sensitive to the problem of racial tension and the methods of countering it, they will be given "special training."

- This briefing outlines the concept and includes a description of the elements of the program and the objectives which have been set for each.

- Formal race relations training is conducted by CONARC in basic training and service school establishments.

- Level 1 is the entry level, given all soldiers in the first four weeks of basic training. It provides a uniform level of understanding of the Army's race relations and equal opportunity programs and is our initial effort to counter the causes of racial tension through education. It sets the scene for a man's Army service in an atmosphere of teamwork and racial harmony.

- Level 2 courses are for young officers and NCOs. They reinforce much of the level 1 training, but at a higher level, and provide the basis for junior leadership to deal with race relations problems.

- Level 3 provides advanced race relations training for middle grade officers and NCOs and concentrates on leadership responsibilities and techniques in dealing with racial tension.

- The standard courses of instruction at each level are four hours in length, but many schools have expanded their courses to six hours. At levels 2 and 3 outside study and problem solving exercises give additional exposure.

- Race relations problems are integrated into other subjects in all courses.

- The Racial Awareness Program is a new concept designed to insure effective race relations efforts in units.

- It includes all unit activities directed toward improving interracial communication, and will be for units what the Equal Opportunity Program is for individuals.

- We will have two Army Regulations: AR 600-21 for Equal Opportunity Programs, and another in the AR 600- series for the Racial Awareness Program.

- The details of the new concept are now being developed to determine which specific activities, such as observance of Dr. King's birthday, are appropriate for the Racial Awareness Program.

- Special race relations training will be provided for top managers. The thrust of this training will be toward the command and staff responsibilities for effective Equal Opportunity and Race Relations Programs.

- Formal schooling includes the AWC and CGSC courses, Senior Level NCOES at the Sergeants Major Academy and the Senior Commanders Orientation Course given at Fort Knox.
- The General Officer Orientation Program and special race relations orientations for the Army's leadership are also included.
- As additional educational requirements for top management are identified they will be included in this element.
- Racial Awareness Program Seminars will be mandatory for every unit in the Army.
- A standard outline to be accomplished annually will be specified by DA in the Racial Awareness Program AR.
- Maximum participation by every unit member will be stressed, but the strength of the program lies in improved interracial communication on a unit wide basis. If an individual misses a given seminar he will still benefit through its effect on his unit as a whole.
- No record of individual attendance will be required, but reports of unit seminars will be required.
- Efforts will be made to tie the Racial Perception Inventory directly to the standard seminar outline so it can be used to measure the effectiveness of the program.
- Draft Seminar Outline shown was developed from curriculums developed by DRRI and the Infantry School. It will be further refined before publication.
- Unit levels indicated are equivalents and this will be spelled out in the AR.
- Outline will be standard for all units, but since blocks II-VI need not be consecutive they can be scheduled as desired.
- After initial introduction (hour Ia) this portion will become part of the unit's orientation for new personnel.
- Standard outlines, similar to those in an Army Subject Schedule, will be provided for each hour. Those outlines will be expanded in the units to address that specific unit.
- Note that the thrust of the program is toward teamwork in the unit. It addresses both minority and majority views with a view to molding all unit members together in a spirit of comradeship.
- Unit commanders will establish their own schedule, but our view is that the seminars will be most effective if conducted throughout the year. In this way, interracial communication and the teamwork it stimulates will become a part of the everyday fibre of Army life.
- Objectives shown are for Active Army only. As the Reserve Component's race relations training program is further developed, objectives for Army National Guard and Army Reserves can also be established.
- Figures shown are for individuals. In management documents they are further broken down by Army Training Centers and service school and by grade of individual.
- Level 1, 2 and 3 training is recorded on officer's Form 66 and EM's Form 20.
- Through the end of FY 72 a total of 310,965 EM have received Level 1 training and 118,473 officers and warrant officers and 312,399 EM have received Level 2 and 3 training. In addition, 40,000 E4 and E5's received race relations instruction as a part of the Basic Leadership Course. Thus it is safe to say that virtually all E4's, E5's and E6's in the Army have had formal race relations instruction at Level 2, with the exception of a few E6's. These personnel will be trained in Jan 73 in a special program carried out as an extension of the Basic Leadership Course.

- These objectives provide for formal race relations on a progressive basis for all officers in the Officers Basic and Advanced Courses, and for EM as follows: 1/3 in NCOES and 1/2 in NCO Academies; the remaining 1/6 of the NCO's will be on an "up or out basis.

- Capability of units to conduct RAP Seminars largely dependent upon supply of instructors.

- Full DRRI team capability for units is 342 teams in brigades or comparable sized units and will be met by 20 July 1973.

- Approximately 2,052 unit discussion leaders (an average of 6 per DRRI team) are required to supplement DRRI teams. Our objective is to fill this requirement by 1 January 1974. The Infantry School will train approximately 1,300 for CONUS units and the remaining 750+ will be trained in commands overseas. (420 in USAREUR, 300 in USARPAC, others in USARSO and USARAL.)

- DRRI teams will operate full time and will be controlled at brigade or comparable level.

- Unit discussion leaders will operate on a part time basis and will operate at battalion or equivalent level.

- Current plans call for 35 DRRI teams in Army Training Centers and service schools, but if race relations training at levels 1, 2 and 3 is increased, this requirement may go up.

- This chart shows unit's capability to conduct race relations seminars, assuming all DRRI teams are trained by 20 July 1973 and all unit discussion leaders are trained by 1 January 1974.

- At the beginning of 3d Quarter FY 73 (1 Jan 73) less than 5% of our brigades or comparable sized units will have the complete race relations instructor capability of a DRRI team and unit discussion leaders; 18% will have a least a DRRI team; 51% will have one DRRI instructor and 26% will have no capability.

- By beginning of 4th Quarter FY 73 (1 Apr 73) all brigades will have some seminar capability, with 25% at full capacity; 32% with a DRRI team; and 45% with one DRRI instructor.

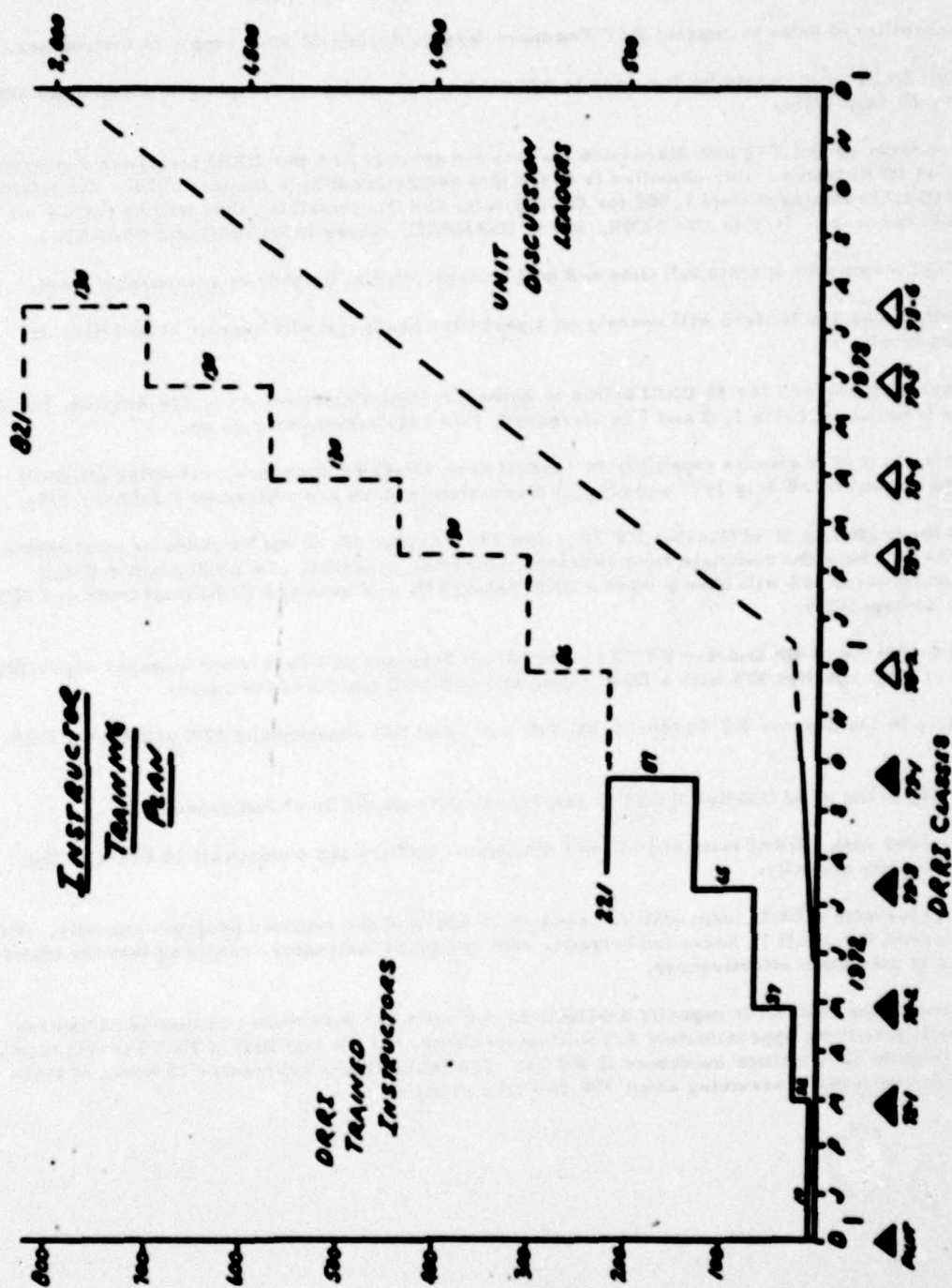
- Early in 1st Quarter FY 74 (20 Jul 73) 48% will be at full capacity and 52% will have a DRRI team.

- By beginning of 3d Quarter FY 74 (1 Jan 74) all units should be at full capacity.

- Brigades with a DRRI team and all unit discussion leaders can conduct all 18 hours of the seminar program annually.

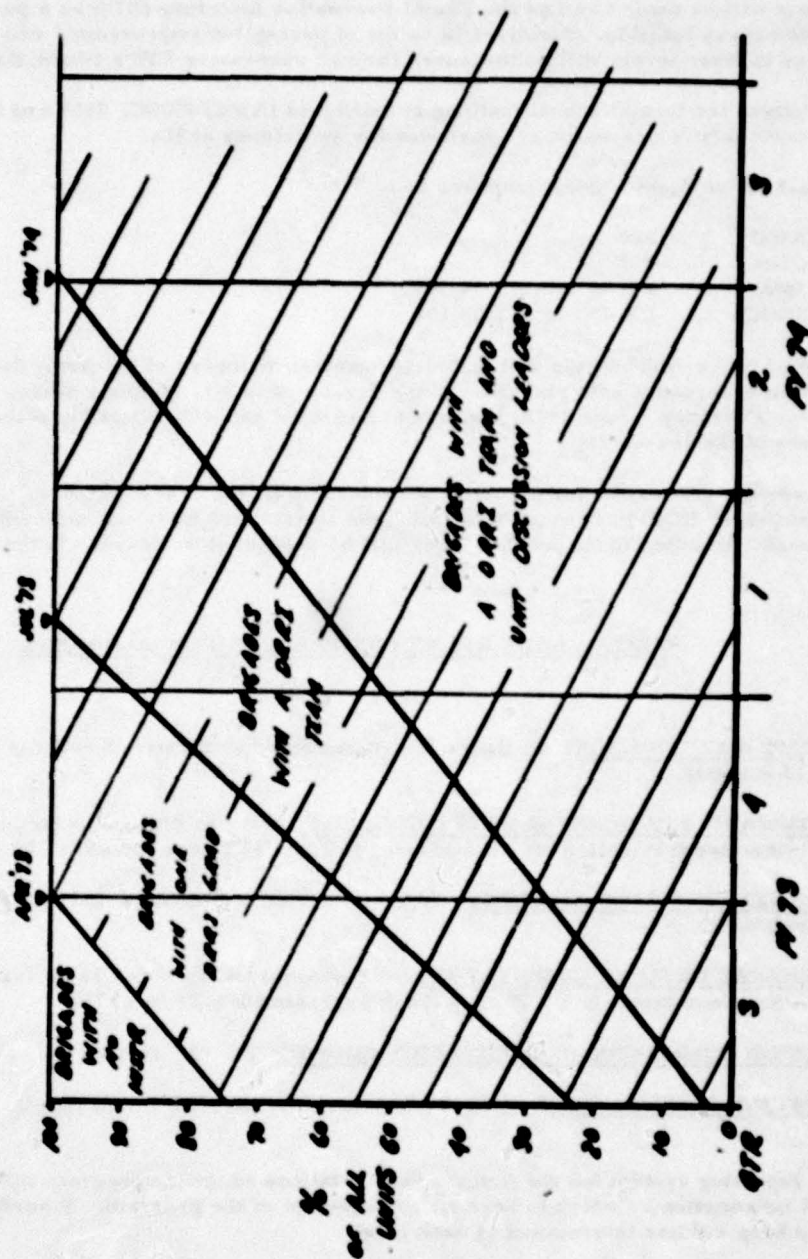
- Brigades with a DRRI team only can conduct 11 hours of the seminar program annually. We also give credit for a full 11 hours for brigades with one DRRI instructor, realizing that the training will not be at maximum effectiveness.

- Based on the instructor capacity available to our units our maximum seminar participation capacity will rise from approximately 3.9 million manhours for the last half of FY 73 to full capacity of approximately 12.6 million manhours in FY 75. The latter figure represents 18 hours of RAP seminars for each man, assuming about 700,000 men in units.



Racial Awareness Program Summary

Percentage Unit Capacity



- It is emphasized that this chart represents a maximum programed objective. Detail plans will be obtained from major commands on which to base a revised objective. The revised objective will then be used to measure statistical performance.

- Efforts will be made to adopt the Racial Perception Inventory (RPI) as a performance measuring tool. If this proves feasible, objectives in terms of perception improvement will be set and performance in those terms will be measured through successive RPI's administered to units.

- Objectives for formal school training of managers (AWC, CGSC, SMA and SCOC) are set in terms of curriculum hours which are reviewed for sufficiency at DA.

- Annual active Army student numbers are:

AWC	180
CGSC	972
SMA	FY 73 100; FY 74 400
SCOC	FY 73 150; FY 74 100

- General officer orientation will include equivalent members of the Army Secretariat and will be coordinated in accordance with plans now being developed in Mr. Miller's office. First sessions are scheduled for February - June 1973, and will be repeated annually for newly selected general officers and members of the secretariat.

- The special orientation for the Army's leadership (Field Grade Officers, Company Grade Officers and Senior NCOs) are quick fixes designed to establish an initial uniform level of understanding of the racial situation in the Army. They will be conducted world-wide in the period January - June 1973.

SPECIAL RACE RELATIONS TRAINING FOR MANAGERS

OBJECTIVES

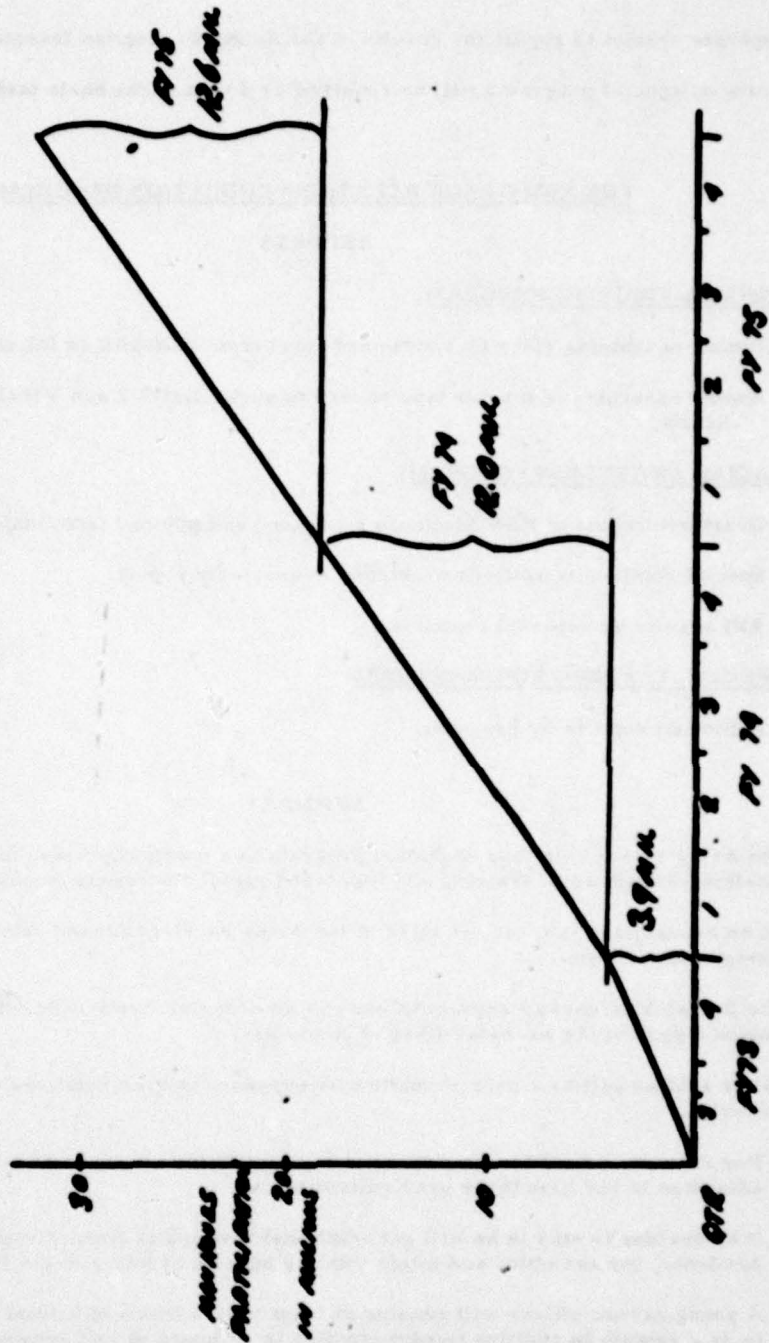
1. ARMY WAR COLLEGE: 29 Hours for all students; 19 Elective hours for approximately 30 students.
2. COMMAND AND GENERAL STAFF COLLEGE: 4 Hours direct instruction and 10 Hours integrated instruction for all students; 40 Elective Hours for up to 200 students.
3. SERGEANTS MAJOR ACADEMY: 28 Hours for all students; research topic in race relations.
4. GENERAL OFFICER ORIENTATION: 498 General Officers and 35 equivalent members of Army Secretariat in FY 73 (Feb-Jun); approximately 75 in FY 74.
5. SENIOR COMMANDERS ORIENTATION COURSE: FY 73: 150; FY 74: 100.
6. SPECIAL ORIENTATIONS: 115, 120 Officers, 68,500 NCO's Jan-Jun 73.

- The reporting system for the Army's race relations education program will be designed to provide DA information on which to base its management of the program. Subordinate commanders will have to keep similar information at each level.

- Training conducted in Army Training Centers and the service schools is an organic part of our individual training program. It is programed and reported to DA on an annual basis by course and by school. This system is sufficient for DA's management purposes; however, to verify the statistical effectiveness of the training and annual screening of records for Level 2 and 3 training will be conducted.

Race Awareness Program Seminars

awareness seminars
in minutes of response participation



- Reports of RAP Seminars will be obtained from major commands by DA and will be based on individual seminar participation so it can be matched against programed and planned objectives. From this report both individual and unit participation can be gauged and a basis for commands will be established.

- A separate system to report the results of the Racial Perception Inventory will be established.

- Reports on special programs will be required as a part of the basic tasking document for each program.

THE ARMY RACE RELATIONS EDUCATION PROGRAM

REPORTS

A. FORMAL TRAINING PROGRAM:

- Report of training given by course and level from CONARC to DA on an annual basis.
- Annual screening of master tape record to verify Level 2 and 3 training for officers and NCO's.

B. RACIAL AWARENESS PROGRAM:

- Quarterly report of RAP Seminars conducted and planned from major commands to DA.
- Special community activities included in quarterly report.
- RPI results by separate channels.

C. SPECIAL TRAINING FOR MANAGERS:

- Individual reports by program.

SUMMARY

1. The Army's race relations education program is a comprehensive, fully integrated effort which capitalizes on individual training and increased racial awareness in units.

2. On an annual basis almost one third of the Army receives formal race relations instruction in the training establishment.

3. The Racial Awareness Program in units is an orderly, Army wide effort to make interracial communication a part of the everyday fibre of Army life.

4. Every soldier will be a part of continuous exposure to race relations training for his entire period of service.

- For example a first term soldier has a potential for a total of 58 hours of race relations education in his first three year enlistment.
- If he decides to stay in he will get additional training at Basic Level NCOES or an NCO Academy, for example, and might total as high as 64 hours in his first three years.
- A young career officer will receive at least twelve hours of formal instruction by the time he is a captain in addition to participating in 18 hours of unit seminars annually.

5. The Army's new concept for race relations education is an achievable program which best meets the Army's need and which follows the Army's normal method of operation, that is formal individual training in service schools combined with unit development - all aimed at producing effective units operating in a spirit of teamwork and comradeship.

MANAGEMENT OF RR/EO RESOURCES

1. Race Relations and Equal Opportunity staff positions are to be institutionalized on Army TOE, MTOE and TDA documents. Full-time positions are being formalized in all units, agencies and activities from brigade or equivalent through Department of the Army level.

2. RR/EO staff offices will be located in the DCSPER/GI/SI/DPCA family, no lower than one step below the DCSPER/GI/SI/DPCA, with access to the commander. However, if so desired the commander has the prerogative to locate the staff office at the principle staff level.

3. To facilitate planning and to assist in implementation, the following model staff offices have been identified:

	OFFICER				ENLISTED						CIVILIAN	
	LTC	MAJ	CPT	LT	E4	E5	E6	E7	E8	E9	SPC	CLK
BRIGADE			1	1	1	1	2					
DIVISION		1	2		1			2				
CORPS	1	1	2		2			2	1			
CONUS ARMY	1				1						1	
POST SMALL		1	1					2			1	1
POST LARGE	1	1						2	1		1	1

(NOTE: All E4 Positions are clerical. The civilian specialist requirements will be used for professional level EO Action Officer and Supervisory positions and classified in the GSL60 Series.)

4. A type of detailed alignment of RR/EO structure down to brigade or brigade equivalent level is included at inclosure 1.

UNIT	UIC	RR/EO ELEMENT	OFF	ENL	AGG	CIV
HQ DA	WOG7AA	1 CONTS ARMY TEAM	1	1	2	1
FT BENNING	WOU2AA	1 POST LARGE TEAM	2	3	5	2
FT BENNING	WOU2AA	5 RR TEAMS	5	5	10	0
FT BRAGG	WOU3AA	1 POST LARGE TEAM	2	3	5	2
FT BRAGG	WOU3AA	3 RR TEAMS	3	3	6	0
FT JACKSON	WOU6AA	1 POST LARGE TEAM	2	3	5	2
FT JACKSON	WOU6AA	2 RR TEAMS	2	2	4	0
FT CAMPBELL	WOU4AA	1 POST SMALL TEAM	2	2	4	2
FT CAMPBELL	WOU4AA	2 RR TEAMS	2	2	4	0
FT GORDON	WOU5AA	1 POST SMALL TEAM	2	2	4	2
FT GORDON	WOU5AA	3 RR TEAMS	3	3	6	0
FT McCLELLAN	WOU7AA	1 POST SMALL TEAM	2	2	4	2
FT McCLELLAN	WOU7AA	2 RR TEAMS	2	2	4	0
FT McPHERSON	WOU8AA	1 POST SMALL TEAM	1	1	2	0
FT McPHERSON	WOU8AA	1 POST SMALL TEAM	2	2	4	2
FT RUCKER	WOU9AA	3 RR TEAMS	3	3	6	0
FT RUCKER	WOU9AA	1 POST SMALL TEAM	2	2	4	2
FT STEWART	WOUAAA	2 RR TEAMS	2	2	4	0
FT STEWART	WOUAAA	1 BDE TEAM	2	2	4	0
1 BCT BDE USATC	WOGRAA	1 BDE TEAM	2	3	5	1
2 BCT BDE USATC	WOGYAA	1 BDE TEAM	2	3	5	1
3 AIT BDE USATC	WOG3AA	1 BDE TEAM	2	3	5	1
4 CST BDE USATC	WOG4AA	1 BDE TEAM	2	3	5	1
BCT COM GP USATC	W2MKAA	1 BDE TEAM	2	3	5	1
XVIII ABN CORPS	WAAKAA	1 CORPS TEAM	4	5	9	0
82d ABN DIV	WAA6FF	1 DIV TEAM	3	3	6	0
1st BDE	WABAAA	1 BDE TEAM	2	4	6	0
2d BDE	WABBA	1 BDE TEAM	2	4	6	0
3d BDE	WABCAA	1 BDE TEAM	2	4	6	0
DIV ARTY	WADDA	1 BDE TEAM	2	4	6	0
SPT CMD	WABEAA	1 BDE TEAM	2	4	6	0
101st ABN DIV (AIRMOBILE)	WAB1FF	1 DIV TEAM	3	3	6	0
1st BDE	WAB4AA	1 BDE TEAM	2	4	6	0
2d BDE	WAB5AA	1 BDE TEAM	2	4	6	0
3d BDE	WAB6AA	1 BDE TEAM	2	4	6	0
DIV ARTY	WAB7AA	1 BDE TEAM	2	4	6	0
SPT CMD	WAB8AA	1 BDE TEAM	2	4	6	0
197th INF BDE	WAR4FF	1 BDE TEAM	2	4	6	0
1st COSCOM	WBGUAA	1 DIV TEAM	3	3	6	0
1st COSCOM	WBGUAA	2 RR TEAMS	2	2	4	0
931 BN GP	WDG7AA	1 BDE TEAM	2	4	6	0

<u>UNIT</u>	<u>UIC</u>	<u>RR/EO ELEMENT</u>	<u>OFF</u>	<u>ENL</u>	<u>AGG</u>	<u>CIV</u>
35th SC GP	WEWEAA	1 BDE TEAM	2	4	6	0
7th SF GP	WHOYFF	1 BDE TEAM	2	4	6	0
5th SF GP	WHO3FF	1 BDE TEAM	2	4	6	0
XVIII ABN CORPS ARTY	WAOWAA	1 BDE TEAM	2	4	6	0

MONITORING OF EO/RR PROGRAMS

The Department of Army has directed that the implementation of the Army Affirmative Action Plan (AAP) is a command responsibility. Each installation commander and major unit commander will appoint appropriate monitoring agencies to report to the commander.

Listed below are specific subject areas listed within the AAP. Also included are the monitoring agencies for USAIC Race Relations/Equal Opportunity AAP. This is an example of how one installation implemented the plan. Within the USAIC the Race Relations Coordinating Group is considered a race relations post large team.

- DCO - Deputy Commanding Officer
- DIO - Directorate of Industrial Operations
- DPCA - Directorate of Personnel and Community Activities

NOTE: The Army Affirmative Action Plan is not included in this packet. However, various programs of the AAP are named in the monitoring of Equal Opportunity/Race Relations Programs, and can be obtained through command channels.

Command Policy Statement and Equal Opportunity (RR/EO)

Each RRCG will maintain a record of all commander's policy statements on RR and EO assigned to their respective installations.

Race Relations Education Programs

Each RRCG will monitor and be responsible for quality control of the 18 hour education programs taught by brigade DRRI and battalion and URRITP graduates.

Racial Awareness Programs

Each RRCG will monitor individual RAP's through visitation of individual units.

Affirmative Action Program

Each commander will be responsible for developing and implementing the DA Affirmative Action Plan. The next higher level commander will monitor the implementation.

Military Justice - The SJA will monitor and develop majority/minority statistical data on administrative and punitive separations. The SJA also will review trends of punishment under UCMJ.

The SJA will also monitor and review pretrial confinement procedures to insure strict compliance with current regulations.

Off-post Housing Policy - The DIO will establish procedures which require personnel to process through housing office prior to renting or purchasing housing in accordance with DOD Reg 310-10.

EIO will also monitor the compliance of AR 600-18, Equal Opportunity for Military Personnel in Off-post Housing.

RR/EO Complaint Procedures

RRCG will review complaint procedures for adequacy.

All commanders will insure that complaint procedures are known to all personnel to include procedures for registering discrimination complaints against personnel in the chain of command.

Race Relations Incidents

The DCO monitors MP blotter extracts for trends and indicators. The DCO will submit reports to the Commanding General including recommendations.

Serious Incident Reports (Racial Incidents) AR 140-40

RRCG will review and analyze for trends and indicators. RRCG will also submit status reports to the Commanding General including recommendations.

The RRCG will conduct visits to provide guidance and assistance and to assess effectiveness of RR/EO programs.

The RRCG will advise the Commanding General of trends, problems and actions necessary to relieve or improve problem areas.

The RRCG provides information to the IG on compliance monitoring items to be included in IG inspections and investigations.

Project Transition. The DPCA will monitor Project Transition activities to insure minority group participation.

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SECTION III

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

This section contains a historical background of four different minority groups. By knowing and understanding the historical backgrounds of different ethnic or racial minorities the leader can better understand contemporary factors influencing minority groups and their behavior primarily due to different cultural backgrounds.

AFRO — AMERICAN HISTORY

FOREWORD

Because of the growing interest expressed of late in Afro-American History it is of importance that we re-tell the story of mankind, especially of his evolution in the United States, and that we place the black man in his proper relationship with other men in the making of America. History must be placed in its proper perspective if we are to know it as it really happened.

Some say that there is no such thing as Afro-American History, and reading "standard" history books one can understand why; and if this is so, it is because his past has become so very intertwined in the history of the Western civilization that he--the black man--has been lost in the process. Even though the Negro is America's oldest ethnic minority, after the American Indian, and has contributed much to the growth of our country, he is still viewed primarily as having been a beast of burden and as having contributed nothing except labor to the development of America.

One of the responsibilities one incurs in teaching Afro-American History is to not only introduce individuals, talk about places and events but to also--and perhaps more importantly--show their context at the time and their relevance to today's black world. One cannot be satisfied knowing only the who, what, when, where, why and how one made a statement, performed a deed, or witnessed an event but one must also explore how those things relate to and affect today's world.

So, then we must acquaint persons with Afro-American History--factually--and discuss that history to ascertain its relevance to the situation we now find ourselves in. It is hoped that the participants become aware but more importantly interested enough to return to their bases and begin reading Afro-American History. The instructor must at all times endeavor to build upon the participant's knowledge of "standard" history; therefore, every effort must be made to keep the discussions in perspective, i. e., Afro-American History must be "integrated" into "standard" history and the while or real story must be told--not just history (his story).

Afro-American history is essential for anyone involved in minority affairs, race relations or equal opportunity since I strongly believe that no one should be allowed or expected to say anything about where the black man is or where he should go until we know where he has been.

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By: Grant B. Williams, Jr.

SEPTEMBER 1972

Slavery - A People Uprooted

The black population of the United States recognize Africa as their ancestral home. They know that they came to America in chains as slaves, brutally uprooted from their homeland.

What is Africa to me:
Copper sun or scarlet sea,
Jungle star or jungle track,
Strong bronzed men, or regal black
Women from whose loins I sprang
When the birds of Eden sang?

Countee Cullen

Africa, long regarded as the "Dark Continent" or the "Sleeping Giant" is in fact the "cradle of civilization." Long before the Christian era and centuries before the dawn of literary history, African Kingdoms had several highly developed cultures. A number of today's "new nations of Africa" are really descended from ancient kingdoms once famed for their systems of government, their armies, their universities, their mastery of the arts, their control of vital trade routes and the glowing splendor of their cities.

The findings of several archaeologists, including Dr. L. S. B. Leakey, indicate that Africa is the birthplace of man, that he began to use tools there, that he discovered iron, and that his inventions spread to Europe and Asia.

For over 7,000 years Africa and Africans led the world; they gave us fire, iron, many tools and cultivated grain. These people would today be considered Negroes: blacks! In the beginning, being black was to be natural and whites were derided for the "unnatural whiteness of their skin." Black people were known and honored throughout the world and ancient Ethiopia was hailed as a place gods could vacation. Kingdoms such as Egypt, Ethiopia, Kush, Ghana, Melle, Songhay, Wagadudu and many other lesser kingdoms rose and fell as time hurried along.

It is obviously impossible to make an unlimited number of generalizations about the life styles in a continent so large as Africa. Of all the peoples to enter America, none came from so wide a geographic area as did the blacks. Most came from the West Coast, that 3,000-mile strip extending from the Senegal River downward to the southern limit of present-day Portuguese Angola. Just as the ancestor of American blacks came from no single region, neither does he come from a single or few tribes or physical types. The difficulty of generalizing about the physical characteristics of the African Negroid peoples can be illustrated by citing the Nilotics and the Pygmies, one being the tallest group in the world (averaging about six feet in height) and the other being the shortest (averaging less than five feet), or the dark skinned Ashanti and the light skinned Bantu. Neither did these peoples have a common tongue, in fact there are several great groups of languages, and an infinite number of languages and dialects within each group. For instance, the Sudanic group has about 264 languages, the Bantu about 182, the Semitic about 10 and the Bushmen have about three and in turn each of these languages are further broken down into many tribal dialects and languages which have no apparent relationship with the principal language groups. Such is the diversity of Africa.

It is significant that wherever one observes the peoples of Africa one finds some form of political organization. They were not all highly organized kingdoms, surely some were simple isolated family states but they all demonstrated a capacity and desire for establishing governments to solve the problems which every community of people encounter. Thus, there was a whole series of states ranging from the simple isolated family to confederations of kingdoms constituting empires. In spite of the many successful states the fundamental unit politically and basically was the family. This was not one man's family but rather a kinship group numbering into the hundreds and called a family because it was made up of living descendants of a common ancestor. The primary and dominant figure of this extended family was the patriarch. He exercised a variety of functions: peacemaker, judge,

treasurer, counselor, administrator, and protector. The patriarch usually sought the advice of the elders. Two families, other than the patriarch's, performed very important functions. They were the electing and enthroning families. The electing family could exercise a choice within the royal family and the new king could not exercise authority until he had been properly invested in office by persons so designated by the enthroning family.

Plural marriage was not uncommon; one man might have more than one wife if he could afford it. Formal marriage arrangements were normally made between families with a payment going to the bride's family--not to pay for the bride but rather as a means of recompensing the bride's parents for their loss. However, we must be ever mindful that tribes varied in many of their practices including marriage.

There were regional variations among Africans in making a living. Dwellers along the shores turned to fishing and boat-making; in the grasslands the economy was pastoral, with goats, sheep and cattle being the chief livestock. Agriculture was the basis of economic life, although herding, fishing, and artistry were very important. Specialization was very advanced, with tribes concentrating in a specific area. A money system based on the cowrie shell was in use long before European influence. Domestic animals were on every farm and artisans in every tribe. Africans were using iron when Europeans and Asiatic peoples were still in the stone age. The interest of early Africa in the outside world can best be seen in the intense attention that was given to commerce. Highways were the routes of commerce over which civilization as well as goods traveled. Africa was never a series of isolated self-sufficient communities, rather she gave much of her civilization to others and received from others in return.

The concept of private property was not deeply felt and all land belonged to the community. There were slaves who were war captives, disgraced or degraded persons and those who lived beyond the law. Slaves were normally the property of the chief of the tribe or the head of the family. In law they were chattel property but in practice they most often were close and trusted associates of their masters and enjoyed virtual freedom. Some were sold and exported to different tribes; a few were sacrificed by kings in worship of their royal ancestors. The children of slaves could not be sold and were an integral and inalienable part of the family. The old, the sick, the infirm and other unfortunated persons were cared for by the tribe without any stigma attached.

Regardless of the tongue or tint of skin color, Africans were deeply religious. For a long time uninformed men wrote African religions off as a form of animism. However, we now realize that Africans, like all advanced peoples, struggled with the real questions of life. What is man? Where did he come from? Why? What response does his actions have on his fate? What does death mean? What happens to him after death? Is there a soul? Is life one big gigantic hoax or does it have a meaningful purpose and meaning? The African did believe that the spirits of their forefathers had limited power over their lives. The priests of the religions were the family patriarchs; the temples of worship could be any structure set aside for that purpose. Religion was a collective attempt to achieve certain satisfactions on the part of a particular person. The elaborateness of funeral rites attest to the regard which the natives had for the idea that the spirit of the dead played an important part in the life of the kinship group. Nothing more clearly demonstrates the cohesiveness of the African family than the ceremonies and customs which were practiced on the occasion of the death and burial of a member. Africans considered there to be a supreme God, who created the earth. There was also a host of lesser gods sometimes identified with terrestrial objects. Then intertwined with these concepts were the cults of fate and ancestor worship. Undergirding this was the basic concept of "life force." This force, "a kind of individualized fragment of the Supreme Being itself," continued to exist, even after death. Religion to the African was life!

Art like religion, was an expression of life. Art, in short, was not for art's sake, but for life's sake. In carvings and sculptures of wood, stone and ivory, their work displayed an originality both in technique and subject matter that marked them as a people with an abundant capacity for aesthetic expression. An important aesthetic expression is music. Africans developed principal musical instruments including the banjo, xylophone, violins, guitars, flutes, harps and zithers. Their most common and frequently used music form was the song, with or without musical accompaniment. There was a great variation in types of musical forms ranging from lullabies to dance songs to work songs to sacred melodies. There were also many forms of dance; some were for recreation or social purposes, while others were performed at ritualistic or religious functions. The literature produced by

the Africans were primarily oral rather than written, but was both professional and popular. Knowledge about the history, customs and traditions of the group was transmitted by men who were professional memorizers. The popular literature included tales, proverbs and riddles passed down from one generation to another.

Students of Africa and America have long discussed the question of the extent to which African culture has been transplanted and preserved in the New World. In the language one can see such words as yam, goober, canoe, banjo, gumbo, ninny, and tote. In literature one can observe it in folk tales that have been surfaced in recent years by writers. In religion there are the divinations and various cult practices, many of which can be traced directly to African background. In work, economics, play or in social activities, manifestations are there to evidence Africanisms. Perhaps the survival of Africanisms in the New World was as great as it was because of the refusal of the members of the dominant group (White America) to extend, without many reservations, their own culture to the black masses whom they brought over chained, stripped and demoralized. Yet one cannot really be stripped of everything.

One three centuries removed
from the scenes his fathers loved,
Spicy grove, cinnamon tree,
What is Africa to me?

Life, father, mother, land; life, birth, death--everything!

Some claim that in 1492 Christopher Columbus discovered America; however, the New World was named after Americus Vesputius. Men of color were with Columbus and men of color were on the land being "discovered." European countries carved up the land and claimed it for themselves. They began the systematic murder of millions of human beings, black and red. Europeans fought each other like the Atlantic was their private lake and all the lands their backyard. They all established settlements to bleed the new found lands and peoples of anything of value. The 70,000 white people who migrated to the West Indies and North American between 1620 and 1640 were forced to take this drastic step for legal, religious or economic considerations. Until Charles I was overthrown the flow continued. The settlers brought with them their arts and their institutions. They also brought their knowledge and experience with harsh punishments, outlandish medical opinions, and a vast store of misinformation about the world, including the New World. The New World was harsh, but the whites misunderstood the Indian and this caused the bloodbath and massacre of the American Indian. The white man was concerned only with economic gains and they brutally exterminated not only the Indian but the land, the seas, the animals, the forest--everything that they touched.

Perhaps the world's first civilization was born in Egypt--Africa. Although the Egyptians were a Mediterranean-type, Negroes formed an important and perhaps dominant element especially in the earlier populations. Blacks contributed to every aspect of the life-style and culture of Egyptian life. They were craftsmen, generals, farmers, diplomats, court officials, priests and pharaohs. In the eighth century B. C. there was a whole line of dark-skinned pharaohs.

Kush, a black kingdom to the south of Egypt, was an off-shoot of Egyptian culture. These people established their own kingdom and went on to conquer Egypt. Piankhy the great Kushite leader became pharaoh of an empire stretching from the mouth of the Nile to the Plains of Palestine. Although Kushites were driven from Egypt after a few generations their contributions to Egyptian culture remained. They however retained their own kingdom until the fourth century A. D. Their most original achievement and contribution was their skill and expertise in trade. They were cut off, physically because of isolation, from the outside world by sand, rocks and rivers but they developed trading routes and ports on the Red Sea and traded with Arabia, India, East Africa, and Mediterranean World and perhaps West Africa. The disruption of these trade routes probably led to its downfall.

South of Kush another African civilization took form two or three centuries after Kush declined. This kingdom consisted of a series of independent city-states. Kilwa one of the leading cities has been described by Europeans--it seems awkward to qualify this with European remarks, but--as "one of the most beautiful and well-constructed towns in the world." Kilwa's mosques (Moslem Church) was equal to Spain's finest. Houses were made of stone and three and four stories high. These cities were culturally advanced as well as wealthy. Many of the citizens of these cities were Arab but the

basic population and most of the culture was Negro. People often advance by borrowing ideas and concepts from others and adapting them to their own circumstances and needs. The Europeans learned the basic elements of civilization from the Mediterranean Island people who had learned those things from Northern Africans--primarily Egyptians. The process was so slow until Europeans remained backwards for thousands of years. As civilization spread North it also spread West to West Africa. In West Africa--cultural borrowing continued. The people in West Africa have been in communication with those in East Africa since about 4000 B.C. continually. After about 350 A.D. a series of civilizations rose and flourished in West Africa. These were the Sudanic Kingdoms, Sudanic because they were in the great grassland belt.

Ghana, the first Sudanic Empire, clearly showed its debt to Kush using iron tools in the tradition of Kush. However, Ghana was original and differed from Kush and Ethiopia in many ways. Art, family patterns and architecture were developed over the centuries in Ghana. Although Ghana herself never accepted Islam, Moslems did trade with Ghana and these connections were partially responsible for this rise. Arab traders wanted gold, gold producers in the south wanted salt from across the Sahara--Ghana's towns were ideally located in a position to control these exchanges. Ghana taxed them all, her soldiers used iron tipped weapons when their enemies used bars of ebony. Kumbi her largest city had a population of at least 30,000. Its ruins included two-story stone houses, rails, scissors and many other items to prove that Ghana was a large sophisticated civilized empire.

As with Kush, Ghana's great wealth proved to be her downfall by attracting hungry nomads from the deserts. Hard-driving, black Moslems came down from the north capturing Kumbi and other chief cities. Following Ghana's collapse there was little order in West Sudan until the late 12th Century when a small kingdom--which was once subject to Ghana--founded an empire of its own. This was Mali. Mali became the second largest empire in the world during the 14th Century (the largest empire being that of the Mongols in Asia). Mali had a single system of law, many learned men, and it surpassed Ghana in wealth. Niani was the largest and most sophisticated city. The famous King Mansa Musa made a pilgrimage to Mecca in 1324 and his caravan included 60,000 men with 100 camel-loads of gold. He distributed so much gold in Egypt that it upset the economic stability for twelve years.

As Mali was declining a new empire was coming into power--that was Songhay. Two developments favored the rise of Songhay. (1) the shift of trade from westerly to more easterly routes--allowing Songhay to increase her revenue at Mali's expense. (2) the creation of a professional army--the other empire had recruited civilians and never had a full-time army. Songhay also had a powerful navy. But in 1591 the country was invaded by gun-toting Moroccans from across the Sahara. The royal army did not adequately defend the country, because: (1) it lacked firearms and (2) it lacked the support in the rural areas to support the guerrilla operations. Songhay disappeared shortly after 1600--but she, as the other African civilizations, left her mark on mankind.

South of the Sudan in the dense forest known as Guinea many smaller civilizations existed. They built many smaller "empires" and contributed to the further civilization of Africa and the world. Benia was one of the most successful Guinea states. It had a uniquely African style of art, a powerful army (100,000 strong), a strong central government and several centers of learning. In 1602 Dutch visitors compared the city with Amsterdam and the Dutch city came out a poor second. The King's power in Benia was greater than that of the Kings in the Sudanic Empires because the king was more than a leader, he was considered godlike.

Slavery--Slave Ships

They sailed long before the Mayflower, those wretched stinking hulks called slave ships carrying human beings as cargo. A young captain eager to please his king took the lead and in 1441 while in Africa, he took ten slaves and made a gift of them to his king, Prince Henry the Navigator of Portugal. The Prince in turn gave them to the Pope; in turn the Pope conferred upon Henry the title of all lands to be discovered to the east of Cape Blanco, a place in present-day Senegal. Shortly thereafter began the great forced migration, the merchandising, marketing and dehumanizing of human beings--men, women and children. No, slavery was nothing new. In one form or another it had existed all over the world almost since the beginning of man. But it had been slavery based on conquest or punishment for crime rather than on the color of a man's skin.

The Portuguese were impressed by Guinea civilization and treated the people as their equals and their leaders with great respect. Because the Portuguese brought slaves in no way affected their relationship to the peoples. African chiefs always sold war captives when they could, just as had Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Chinese and medieval Europeans. African slaves in Europe had the same rights which white slaves had. They freely married Portuguese women, many free Iberians of African descent achieved fame, for example Estevanico (Little Stephen), Pedro Alonso Nino and Juan Latino. Slavery was mild and on a small scale.

In 1517 one Bishop Las Casas advocated permitting Spaniards to import 12 Negroes each when they immigrated to the New World--the slave ships began to sail in earnest. Bishop Las Casas wanted Negroes imported to save the Indian who were rapidly dying off. By 1540 the annual importation of Negro slaves to the West Indies was estimated at 10,000.

In 1619 at Jamestown in America's first settlement a ship came, her cargo too was humans, twenty of them, black men and women. These were by no means the first blacks to come to the Americas; many blacks had come and would come and contribute to the making of the Americas. Many of the explorers, traders and soldiers were men of color.

Indians had been captured and forced into slavery but because of their rather relatively simple background compared to the Africans, because Africans had been in Europe for a hundred years and the Europeans were accustomed to them, and because they were so susceptible to disease, they did not serve adequately as slaves. Also, they could escape and could not be distinguished from "free" Indians. White indentured servants were brought into the colonies but they were Christians and deserved certain privileges; they were white and could run away and get lost in the greater population and they were basically unsatisfactory since they would not allow themselves to be but so abased as they had legal and political rights.

Europeans began to turn their attention to the black servants who had been faithfully serving them in small numbers for over a century. Because of color, Negroes could be easily identified; because they were pagans they could be handled by more rigid methods of discipline and could be morally and spiritually degraded with the sanction of the church. They were good farmers and used to hard work; they were strong and durable. Portugal was the first European country to engage in the African slave trade; Spain was excluded from Africa by the Papal arbitration of 1493. The trade was developed into big business primarily by the Dutch, French and English companies.

European ship captains began raiding the Guinea coastline in search for Africans to capture after they could not find enough for sale. They were buying them from local chiefs who had an excess of slaves and European traders who were middle men between African traders and the ship captains.

The European traders offered cloth, iron bars, brass rings, cowrie shells, liquor, tobacco and other appealing articles in exchange for human cargo. Later the Europeans brought in guns for trading. These guns did much to cause tribes to become violently competitive and every tribe was against every other tribe. They each thought the other tribe was arming to catch and sell its members, so each

tribe began protecting itself, i.e., catching and selling members of other tribes. Asante (modern Ghana) became the leading slaving tribe. In fact Asante became so strong that it was a match for Europeans until the late 19th Century. She captured or bought about 10,000 slaves each year for trading. She was the middleman involved in many of the long marches and much of the slave trading in Africa.

For the captives these marches were nightmares. They were tied to one another's hands, necks, and feet. They were forced to walk many weeks with little food or rest. As many as 60 percent died during these "marches to the sea." The survivors were just beginning their life of misery. They were separated from anyone they knew, who spoke the same language or were from the same tribe. They were branded with a red-hot iron with the Dutch, English, French, Spanish (Latin American) or other companies' brand. The slaves did not know what their fare would be and rumors ran rampant.

They resisted in every way possible. Many refused to walk and had to be killed or dragged. They refused to eat and hot coals were put to their lips forcing them to open their mouth or be burned. They jumped from the ships and did anything else they could to escape or kill themselves.

Most white slavers justified themselves by "denying they shared a common humanity with their victims. With few exceptions African rulers sold only people from other tribes." The tribe--NOT the skin color was the reason blacks sold other blacks. "The tribe, not the black skin, was the focus of loyalty in pre-modern Africa. To enslave Negroes from another tribe, in alliance with whites, did not produce guilt feelings, especially as slaving was often self-defense.

Europeans, too, were loyal chiefly to small units--their nation or their religious sect. Above all, they loved profit. When money was at stake, the English, Portuguese, and Dutch--all Christian, all of them white--were capable of incredible cruelty towards one another. Given the enormous profits of slaving, therefore, it is hardly surprising that they should have had limited sympathy for victims who were not Christian, who looked very different, and whose culture was totally unfamiliar."

So the strongest powers in the world began the rape of Africa for economic reasons and they allowed nothing to stand in their way.

But the natives offered a very stiff and continuing resistance to their capture, sale and importation to an unknown world. Fierce wars broke out between tribes to prevent their members being taken. Slaves were always chained and kept under a tight guard yet they were "so willful and loath to leave their own country, that they have often leap'd out of canoes, boat and ship, into the sea, and kept under water till they drowned." None wanted to go; Africa was their home!

The slaves were stacked below decks like cordwood, most without enough room or chain to turn over. They had to lay in their own and other's waste. Overcrowding was a common practice; this resulted in there being many epidemics during the voyage. Many of those who did not die of disease or from committing suicide by jumping overboard during periods on deck (normally schools of man-eating sharks followed each slave ship) were permanently disabled either from illness or maimed as a result of their struggle against the chains. After having been captured, branded, chained and stacked like books in the hold of the ships--for instance, "They had not so much room as a man in his coffin" said one captain; they were transported like so many cattle to the Americas. The height between decks was eighteen inches, they were wedged in place and held there by chains and shackles, many starved, suffocated, or went mad.

No one really knows how many black men, women and children left Africa in chains, nor does one know how many arrived in the West Indies, South or Central America or the most dreaded place--the American Colonies. But we all know that millions upon millions did not make it--and they were the lucky ones! Some say over 10 million died in "death marches" to the sea coast, another 20 million died, killed themselves or were murdered in the "Middle Passage," and at least 50 million reached the New World.

Although we must concentrate on slavery in America we too must briefly investigate slavery in South America but especially the Indies. This "peculiar institution" had many faces, ours of course being the ugliest.

The Caribbean was the scene of the first serious effort to develop an agriculturally based economy in the New World. There was a rivalry between the Europeans for control of the Islands, although Spain had prior claim because her sailors explored them first. Spain lost many of these Islands but they began producing staple crops with slave labor--first Indian and then blacks. England's Sir John Hawkins led England in breaking the Spanish monopoly. He began by selling Africans and African goods at Hispaniola in 1563--his example was followed by many a dashing young sea captain. At first the plantation owners used slaves on tobacco plantations but by 1639 they had to change to cotton and indigo and sugar because the ground had been so glutted.

There was no increase in black population for a number of years even though several thousand slaves were brought to each island, also the birth rate was substantial even though the vast majority of the black babies did not live. This was because the death rate was so very high. Since there were many blacks coming into the Indies, relatively few leaving and a rather high birth rate one must wonder why the black population did not increase and in looking one must look at the life of the slaves. The Indies were used for "seasoning" or "breaking in" the slaves. Life expectancy of a slave was seven years. Slavery was an economic affair and there are few cases of humanitarianism, the life of blacks was cheap. Few landlords lived on or near their plantations; this allowed the overseers to develop practices of mistreating slaves in their quest for economic gain.

Slaves were sent to the fields at daybreak. They toiled until dusk with a half-hour break for breakfast and a two-hour break during the hottest part of the day, when they performed lighter chores. New slaves were paired with experienced slaves and forced to work at top speed. They were totally dehumanized, allowed no privacy, often beaten, food thrown to them like scraps to a dog, given only a rag or two for clothing, a bare spot of ground in a crowded hut where a piece of board may be placed for a bed, a small plot of ground several miles from the hut--which was on the edge of the plantation--was for growing vegetables. Only a small piece of fish (often rotten) and a peck or two of salt was all that was given.

Women worked alongside men and one month was the maximum time off given for childbirth--and this was rare. Conditions were so bad until the British Parliament in 1790-91 conducted an investigation. This investigation brought out the previously mentioned facts and also that women were unmercifully beaten if they stopped to care for their babies which they had to carry on their back, babies were beaten to death while women were being beaten; planters did not allow diversified agriculture which would have provided food for slaves, plots were so far away slaves did not have the time or energy to tend them; they worked from 14-18 hours, six days each week and on Sunday they just laid around and did their own light housekeeping. In spite of the fear and physical brutality and intimidation slaves resisted, revolted and ran away. Such was the seasoning, few slaves lived over 10 years; life expectancy was seven years. The black codes were designed to prevent uprising and running away but it was a failure--blacks revolted and resisted in every way.

For an example of the codes--in Antigua in 1728 five slaves were found guilty of conspiracy to escape and their punishment was: three were burnt alive; one was hanged, drawn and quartered; and the last was shipped to the Spanish Coast. Yet, uprisings were common--the black codes created a black backlash--slaves were driven to revolt by the ultra-harsh treatment.

As previously mentioned a Dutch ship stopped in Jamestown, Virginia in 1619 and sold 20 blacks as indentured servants. The colonist viewed the introduction of blacks as just some more unfortunate indentures. As late as 1651 when blacks completed their period of bondage they were given land just as white indentures. The colonies from about 1619 to about 1640 allowed blacks to enter as indentured servants, and there was no special notice made of their skin color. Around 1640 blacks who ran away were sentenced to serve their masters for the rest of their natural life and blacks were being purchased as "a slave forever."

Manpower was needed to clear forest, to build homes, shops and towns, roads had to be constructed, crops planted. The Indian had proved to be "unsuitable slave" as he would often refuse to work, run away and he was not accustomed to farming European style nor did he care for the European foods and he was very susceptible to their diseases. White indentureds demanded and received certain rights as Christians; they often ran away, refused hard work and took little interest in their work.

As the colonies grew the labor situation worsened, bondsmen, both Indian and white were running away in droves. The leaders decided that the way to solve the labor shortage was to prevent African indentures from becoming free at the end of their service. Because they looked differently black men began to be treated differently, not because he proved himself inferior in any way. In 1661 the Virginia Legislature passed a law which assumed blacks would serve for life. In 1682 Virginia reduced all non-Christians, including those who would later convert to Christianity, to permanent slave status. Skin color had become a badge of inferiority. Other English colonies began to do the same thing. In South Carolina blacks were as numerous as whites and by 1776 they outnumbered whites two to one. With the change in status, so too came a change in treatment. The colonies began changing and establishing the status, role and responsibilities of the black man and his relationship with others.

There were three forms of slavery practiced but it varied according to location, the New England slave, the Mid-Atlantic slave and the Southern slave each had a different life style.

In the Southern colonies Virginia led the way in most things including the deterioration of the black man's status. The Southern colonies were built on one-crop plantations owned by a small number of whites who owned large numbers of blacks. In these colonies hardly any enterprises were independent from slavery. Every white man either owned or sought to own slaves, for the more slaves one had the wealthier one was thought to be. Southern planters paid little attention to the human or cultural rights. Laws were passed to control every aspect of a slave's life. He was robbed of every right and punishment which could be employed against him was unlimited. These laws left blacks totally helpless and dependent upon the mercy and goodwill of their white masters. The laws were even crueler than those in the Caribbean, South or Latin America. In the Mid-Atlantic things were a little better and in New England things were still a little better than in the Mid-Atlantic states.

Perhaps in these two areas the religious convictions of some of the people come into play but perhaps even more important was the fact that there was not the work (land for farming) for the slave--hence fewer slaves were in these areas; there was less fear of revolts, more lenient laws which resulted in milder treatment; too the number of slaves owned by any one person was low, perhaps less than three.

Nevertheless, much of the profit from the slave trade found its way into northern pockets as they, along with England and English merchants, financed the slave trade.

Nowhere did blacks submit to their lot; they fought it every way that they could. Slave life was exceptionally hard--that any survived is a miracle. Life on the plantation was harder than life in the city, and life in the big house was easier than life in the field. Slavery began failing, it was not economically sound. Small farms were more typical than plantations. Slavery indeed grew slowly in the seventeenth century; and labor was becoming more and more of a problem. Then Maryland Virginia and the Northern parts of the Carolinas began to need more and more labor for the tobacco and rice crops. From the beginning to the end of the colonial period the Southern colonies were frontier communities. The whites were afraid of the Indians. There was lawlessness. There was extreme wastefulness which was encouraged by the existence of rich available land and resources. A fear of collusion between Indians and Negroes prevailed and not without reason. Every planter regarded himself as the supreme source of law in his area and did create his own slave code. "The wastefulness which characterized his (the plantation owners) treatment of the land was likely to characterize his treatment of the slaves. . . He was likely to be ruthless, reckless, and extravagant in use of both." Blacks cleared the wilderness on the Southern frontier and thus the large plantations, the need for more slaves, more slaveships, more slaves.

The Quakers of Pennsylvania were early opponents of slavery. In 1688 the first known anti-slavery statement was made by them. They said: "There is a saying, that we should do to all men like as we will be done ourselves. . . Here (in America) is liberty of the body. . . But to bring men hither, or to rob and sell them against their will, we stand against. . . Pray, what thing in the world can be done worst to us, that if men should rob or steal us away, and sell us for slaves to strange countries; separating husbands from their wives and children. . . Have these poor Negroes not as much right to fight for their freedom, as you have to keep them slaves?"

And they did, they fought in every way possible including armed rebellions. For instance, in 1739 one such uprising was written of by a white eyewitness:

"A number of Negroes having assembled together at Stono (a plantation near Charleston, S. C.), first surprised and killed two young men in a warehouse, and then plundered it of guns and ammunition. Being thus provided with arms, they elected one of their number captain, and agreed to follow him, marching towards the southwest, with colors flying and drums beating, like a disciplined company. . . They plundered and burnt every house, killing every white person they found in them, and compelling the Negroes to join them." The rebellion was put down but only after over 70 people lost their lives.

The larger the plantations got the more and the harder the work. As one field hand saw it, "the fields stretched from one end of the earth to the other!" Most of the transplanted Africans had extensive farm experience and were accustomed to heavy work loads and hardships but they had never known nor dreamed possible the workload and harsh treatment they experienced. They worked from dawn to dusk six and seven days each week. They were given the mere basic food rations, meager clothing and wretched living quarters. Men, bearing arms, stood guard not only to insure that they did not run away but also to insure that they did not slow down in their work.

In spite of these general practices, some slave holders on small farms treated their slaves rather humanly. A few slaves learned to read and write and fewer still managed to develop their talents. There were many skillful tradesmen such as carpenters, nurses, blacksmiths, painters, metal workers, shoemakers, spinners, etc. Whites did not work if they could afford a single slave. Owning slaves were not only status symbols they were the means of increasing the slaveholders economic position. Craftsmen worked and the wages were turned over to the master. In the South slaveholders did as little as possible--even in the homes. Women did not care for their children and had someone to take care of their every need, including nursing. The relationships between black men and white women and white men and black women had its roots in the early days of slavery; and this is the crux of the present American dilemma concerning race.

Blacks played important roles in the defense of the colonies in the struggle to exterminate the Indian, in the Queen Ann War (1702-1713), the King George War (1744-1748), the French and Indian Wars, with General Braddock in 1758 at Fort Ticonderoga and Crown Point. They served in the Colonial Navy, being almost treated as equals to whites. Some blacks were freed as a result of their service in the militias. Most blacks, however, led lives of untold agony and hardship. Meanwhile, tensions were mounting in Boston.

Slavery--A Peculiar Institution

Tensions mounted in Boston. The night was cold and clear in Boston the 5th of March 1770. That night there was a confrontation between British troops and citizens. The confrontation became violent--the first bloodshed of what was to become the American Revolution was that of a black man--Crispus Attucks. Blacks were at Lexington, Concord, North Bridge, Bunker Hill, Valley Forge, White Plains and wherever else they could be of service. I must here relate from Lerone Bennett's, Before the Mayflower, a very simple story that nevertheless allows you to see the dilemma and inconsistency of America on the eve of its fight for independence. "There lived in Connecticut in the days preceding the Revolution a patriotic preacher who was given to making pretty speeches about liberty and death. This preacher owned a slave named Jack. The preacher preached and Jack slaved and listened and wondered. One day Jack went to his master and said: 'Master, I observe you always keep preaching about liberty and praying for liberty, and I love to hear you, sir, for liberty be a good thing. You preach well and you pray well; but one thing you remember, Master--Poor Jack ain't free yet.'" Now this cold irony of fate makes Poor Jack and his preaching master polar symbols of one of history's greatest paradoxes: the American Revolution.

But slaves began to petition legislatures and sue for liberty in the North. The history of the Black Protest in America in itself is a fascinating study. A more direct way to gain freedom was to join the militia but then a reluctance to allow blacks to bear arms was surfaced.

The British actively sought the black man to serve in their armed forces and offered them freedom after the war. General Washington and the high command decided to exclude all blacks from service--slave and free. Serious manpower shortages forced General Washington's army to reverse itself and follow the British's example of enlisting blacks. Blacks then became substitutes for whites who wished to avoid combat. Every colony enlisted blacks except Georgia and South Carolina, and they were so fearful of slave uprising that they banned black troops. However, many blacks fought in both Georgia and South Carolina. Out of a total standing army of about 300,000, about 5,000 were black; many other blacks saw service as militia men. Blacks served in the Carolinas with France's Marion, the Swamp Fox. They served with Washington at Valley Forge and crossed the Delaware with him. They also fought with distinction with the Navy.

After George Washington's blunder in the winter of 1777-1778, slaves were used and their owners were paid up to \$1,000 for their use. The number of blacks in the military increased overnight.

Blacks wrote a heroic record on every front in every position; they must share in the victory of Britain's defeat. They indeed fought for freedom, liberty, justice. Because much of the war was fought in the backyard of New England the Northerners saw how the black man fought and they knew why he fought. Consequently, after the war they began abolishing slavery, some immediately; others worked out gradual methods.

Blacks were protesting throughout the North for freedom--after all that is what the war was all about.

After the war was over and slavery was not ended anti-slavery societies were organized as far south as Virginia. The Quakers and Methodists also expanded their work. Abolitionists also worked in the South and Virginia seriously considered outlawing slavery.

When the Founding Fathers started gathering in 1787 to write a constitution it looked like slavery was a dying institution. Thousands of black soldiers were returning to their homes, many as free men. Many a Southerner, too poor to own slaves to send in his stead, had served with blacks and found them no different from himself. The time was right, all was ready; a real blow for freedom could be struck. All waited, watched and listened as the gentlemen gathered in Philadelphia, the city of brotherly love. Surely they deserved freedom, these wretched blacks. Could one so soon forget Monmouth, Red Bank, Saratoga, Savannah, Princeton, Yorktown or Eutaw. Yes, "Eutaw, South Carolina, where a Negro

soldier and a British soldier were found dead, each impaled on the bayonet of the other." Not only had whites with LaFayette and Kosciasko answered America's call for help, so did black men from Haiti--the notable Fontanges Legion--who prevented the rout of Americans at Savannah and did other yeoman service. Conservative estimates say 100,000 slaves received their freedom for service and that another 100,000 fled to Canada, still over 15,000 were on British ships at the end of the war. But surely America would free the slave. So the Founding Fathers arrived in Philadelphia.

We do not need to discuss the Declaration of Independence and what it did not do; nor do we need to discuss the Constitution and what it could have and should have done. All know that a golden opportunity was missed. The high hopes, liberty slogans and "all men created equal" statement enunciated in the Declaration of Independence were all shattered and doomed to idealism. True, many good men "opposed" slavery, at least verbally they did, if not in practice. Men such as George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, Anthony Benezet, Ben Rush, Alexander Hamilton, John Q. Adams, and of course Thomas Jefferson all opposed slavery verbally. Yet, some of them owned slaves (George Washington, Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson) and in practice agreed with men like John Rutledge of South Carolina and George Mason of Virginia. The nation and many of its leading men are typified by Patrick Henry known for his famous "give me liberty or give me death" said of slavery, "I will not, I cannot justify it," yet he kept his slaves and argued that ending slavery was impractical. So they failed and the Constitution condoned slavery. Section 2 of Article I counted slaves 3/5 of a person, Section 9 of Article II permitted the slave trade and Section 2 of Article IV forced the return of fugitive slaves to their owners. The North and anti-slavers had established a precedence of giving in to the pro-slavers and the South--this precedence is still followed today.

Abolitionist, free-blacks and slaves continued to protest against slavery. Every known method of protest was employed, yet the yoke of slavery continued to be tightened. Not only were the slaves not free but neither were the black freemen free. Several societies tried to have the slaves emancipated and all people of color exported to Africa, but this was bit "practical" economically. Free blacks developed and demonstrated their abilities and intelligence yet they were still considered inferior. Black churches came into existence and voiced their disapproval to slavery; soon many other black organizations were founded.

Meanwhile rice and tobacco gave way to cotton, and cotton was the most powerful stimulant to influence slavery. Cotton became King. It was in 1793 that a cotton gin was invented and the cotton crop began to climb upward. More slaves were needed. During these years slavery in the United States became the height of man's inhumanity to man. I will just repeat here what Tines Kendricks, an ex-slave said: "Slavery time was tough, boss. You just don't know how tough it was." Out of this bloody system came the American Negro as well as the American white man, and in spite of the fact that most of us would like to forget it, we were all greatly and adversely affected by it. Some owners tried to give the impression that their property--the slaves--were docile, happy, easy to control, tractable and generally satisfied with their lot. This was not the truth!! The slave's true reaction to their condition can best be appraised by becoming knowledgeable of their protest. The system was extremely brutal, slaves were for economic gain, they were beasts of burden. If beating them made them produce more they were beaten; if killing them was more profitable than keeping them they were killed. The women were worked, for the most part, and treated just like the man; even during her childbearing period she had to produce. Babies were born in cotton fields and the older women whose job it was to care for babies took them to the hut and the mother continued to pick cotton. The fact that in 1865 there were few if any pure Africans in America attest to the fact that the white men used his property for every conceivable purpose. White boys had any and as many black girls or women they wanted sexually and the men all had "bed warmers." Sex, like everything else, was a thing the master had complete control over. There were no laws to protect slaves that were enforced yet the black codes were swiftly, completely and brutally enforced. The average whip opened a "track" on the slave's back that a man could insert his finger in, ears were pinned and cut off, branding on the face was common; nothing was beyond the overseers and they no doubt laid awake nights thinking of ways to punish slaves. The slaves protested by maiming themselves, slowing down in their production, feigning illness or misunderstanding, loafing, sabotage of every kind and description, killing children, conspiring to revolt, revolting, running away and suicide.

Many who conspired to revolt were betrayed. Three of these were: Gabriel Prosser, Denmark Vesey and Nat Turner.

So the black codes and its harsh punishment failed to break the slave, they continued to resist. When the cotton gin was invented the slave population in the South was 700,000; by 1861 it was in excess of 4,000,000. Some of these people came from Africa, others from the Indies, thousands from breeding farms in the border states. Countless others were kidnapped in Northern cities and sent south. Even though in 1860 there were 1,500,000 white families in the South and only 385,000 owned any slaves the fact is that the majority allowed and benefited from slavery, just as the North did. Every white man in the South psychologically agreed with slavery and they--even though they did not own slaves--were overseers, kidnappers, patrollers, and did anything else to keep the niggers in their place.

Blacks protested in many ways. While the blacks in Haiti were beating Napoleon to take their independence a Virginia slave named Gabriel Prosser organized about 1100 blacks, armed many of them with work tools and a few knives and guns and set out on a three-pronged attack on Richmond. The attack was postponed due to rain, and two house slaves revealed the plan. Troops were called out and a reign of terror was forthcoming for all blacks. Prosser and at least 35 other blacks were hanged. This was in 1800.

In Charleston the same year one Denmark Vessey bought his freedom. He began to study the French Revolution and the revolt in Haiti. He may even have written Toussaint or his successor. At any rate Vessey and his lieutenants decided that they were ready to take Charleston in 1822. Vessey too was betrayed by house slaves before he could get started. Vessey and at least 46 of his lieutenants were hanged, beheaded and their heads impaled. This also resulted in a reign of terror and more strict measures to insure less slave resistance.

In 1831 in Virginia Nat Turner and a small band of slaves began marching toward the county seat. They killed all whites they encountered: 10 men, 14 women and 33 children. After two days of fighting the state militia overpowered Turner's band but Nat got away. He remained in hiding over two months during which time few whites slept. The system could not produce contentment regardless of how much one said "my niggers are happy." Nat was finally captured and died on the gallows. More fear was put into whites by the exaggerated reporting and rumors than by anything else.

In 1835 several slaves in Monroe County, Georgia were hanged for "conspiracy." Uprisings in Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi cost lives on both sides. In 1855, 2,500 New Orleans slaves planned a revolt but a "few Negroes" informed on them. The Maroons throughout the South constantly harassed whites in general and slave holders in particular.

Blacks also revolted at sea, the Armistad and Creole mutinies bringing special horror to Southern planters.

There were some whites who fought with the blacks for their freedom.

These United States were filled with tension and hate, much of it over the status of black men, all the while these United States grew. As we grew black men's blood and sweat and black women's blood, sweat and tears watered this land. Black hands tilled the soil. Black arms rocked the cradles. Black people were born, lived and died and never knew freedom. This was the period when "breeding slaves" made many white men rich; girls began "breeding" at thirteen, by thirty they were grandmothers and most had had as many children as they could. Few saw any of their children for long. There is on record one woman who had 41 children and she herself was 42 years old; however, at the time of the record-taking she was with child. The black woman, like the land used, was made to give until she couldn't. And this was a Christian country!

The "free" black began to speak out more forcefully but they were hardly free. They had to suffer through discrimination everywhere, even the rich ones, the intellectuals, the ministers--all blacks, regardless of their station were relegated to a status of semi-free--but they were determined to be heard.

So long as ninety percent of the black people were property there was little chance that the remaining ten percent would gain true dignity. So blacks did not hesitate to protest--and as always there were some concerned whites to join with them.

But Southerners defended their system, they used every means available to justify enslaving blacks. They claimed Christianity and slavery were consistent and that slavery was supported by the Bible. They claimed that the "Negroe's brain was so small" that slavery was the only thing he was fitted for. They claimed slaves were "the happiest, and in some sense the freest people in the world." But they did not rely only on their arguments, they passed stiff laws and they got physical when necessary.

In 1850 the Federal Fugitive Slave Law was passed and this greatly increased sectional tensions. The Fugitive Slave Law was designed to stem the flow of runaway slaves. The North labeled the act the "Bloodhound Bill" and few people assisted in enforcing it.

The upheaval over fugitive slaves spilled over into the slavery expansion thing--the Western territories. Many Northerners who had no special concern for the blackman was opposed to the growth of slavery--because of the competition or bad effects slavery would have on free labor. In 1820 the North had demanded a limit be placed on the area and an imaginary line was drawn across the Louisiana Purchase at 36° 30', the southern border of Missouri. Slavery was forbidden above this line--this was the Missouri Compromise of 1820--another deal, the Compromise of 1850 (the Fugitive Slave Act was a part of this) tried to maintain the balance between "free" and "slave" sections. Most Northerners and anti-slavers thought this a fair deal and that slavery would wear itself out.

With the discovery of gold in California, a problem everyone wanted to "dry up and go away like a raisin in the sun" really burst into full bloom. The Missouri Compromise. Stephen A Douglas. John C. Calhoun. Fugitive Slaves. The Compromise of 1850 (another major concession by the North). Slave catchers. All hell was breaking loose. William L. Garrison; Frederick Douglass, the newly elected president of the New England Anti-Slavery Society; black newspapers; black churches; black schools; Henry Highland Garnet; harsher slave codes; more brutal treatment; a black enrolled at Harvard; more black laws; all sorts of things were happening and then appeared "Uncle Tom's Cabin!" This novel by Mrs. H. B. Stowe was soon being dramatized all over the North and barred in the South. The young country never really had a chance; it had been polarized and sectionalized from the start, now it was being torn apart. The crisis had been a long time in coming--since the Founding Fathers who gave in and compromised. They hoped, and dreamed and wished, but as big as they were they were not big enough for the task. They knew they were wrong; they skirted the issue and postponed it for their sons and their son's sons to take care of. "The Missouri Compromise made men look at the monster they had created. A line was scratched on a map and slavery was forbidden to the north of that line; but, as it turned out, nothing had been settled. Far off on the horizon, a storm was rising; but men were walking in the streets without umbrellas. Men with eyes to see saw it." Some men hoped against hope, others closed their eyes and wished it would all go away, many thought things would get better; the slave, he just kept on doing what he had been doing, trying to get free!

Slavery--A Nation Divided

The Underground Railroad was roaring and wherever it stopped there was a rap on a window or a door, a plea for a piece of bread, a spoon of medicine, directions, a fork of hay and a piece of ground--and wherever they stopped a decision was made. A decision was made for or against slavery. Thousands of slaves escaped from the South, estimates range from 50,000 to 100,000, many, many more were caught or died in swamps or left no records. Slaves looked to the "Promised Land" and followed the North Star over the Underground Railroad. The Underground Railroad was people, dedicated people who risked their lives and fortunes to help black people escape the horrors of slavery. The very foundations of slavery were shaken, public opinions were hardened and the growing emotions divided the nation. In the 1850's the nation was in fact divided. The nation was divided because to the North escaping slaves became the symbol of man's inhumanity to man but to the South the Underground Railroad became an unbearable insult and a great economic loss.

Most of the conductors of the Underground Railroad were themselves escaped slaves who risked their lives to return to the South to lead others to freedom. One such, and perhaps the most active conductor, was Harriet Tubman. She became known as "Moses" for her daring exploits of leading people out of the South. She was naturally "wanted dead or alive," and \$40,000 was offered and her fate if she was caught was to have been that she would be burned alive.

There was Levi Coffin, a banker and known as the "president" of the U.G. Thomas Garrett and Samuel Burris operated stations which handled hundred of fugitive slaves each year. Garrett, a white, once told a judge: "Thee hasn't left me a dollar, but I wish to say to thee, and to all in the courtroom, that if anyone knows of a fugitive who wants shelter, and a friend, send him to Thomas Garrett and he will befriend him." There was William Still, Calvin Fairbank and hundreds of others, both North and South, all risking their fortunes and lives so that others could be free.

In the same year that Nat Turner was born, so too was born a white child, his name was John Brown. Nat had led his rebellion, had been tried and hanged before John Brown led his outbreak. John's revolt was the most explosive spark of the 1850's but it was just one in a long series of events which deepened and widened the gulf in an already divided nation.

The anger that had been generated by the fugitive slave law made it almost impossible for the North and the South to work out their differences (it was really two countries, North and South). Then the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, which in effect repealed the Missouri Compromise of 1820 by opening the Kansas-Nebraska territory to slavery--(another "compromise" by the North, once a precedence is established by giving in, it seems impossible to stop). This "popular sovereignty" doctrine paved the way for a most violent battle between pro-slavery and anti-slavery forces for the control of "bleeding Kansas."

Everywhere in the North this act was bitterly denounced as the tool which would allow slavery to spread unchecked and as a shameful surrender to the South. Slave-holding Southerners rode into Kansas; Northern slavery-hating settlers rode out to meet them. One of them was John Brown. Even on the floor of the Congress violence was seen when Senator Charles Sumner was almost beaten to death by a Southern lawmaker. Bleeding Kansas was a battleground for years and it stood as evidence that the nation was so divided that it could not solve its differences--the issue of slavery--short of war. As a result of the debate over the Kansas-Nebraska Act a new political party, the Republicans, emerged in the North. In 1857 Dred Scott's decision was handed down by Chief Justice Roger Taney, a Maryland slaveholder. Taney said of the Constitution that it "were not intended to confer on them (black people) or their posterity the blessings of liberty, or any of the personal rights so carefully provided for the citizen"--so spoke the Chief Justice of the United States of America in 1857. The North now knew for sure that slaveholders were determined to "rule or ruin" the Union. Frederick Douglass, seeing beyond the immediate setback wrote of Taney's decision: "This very attempt to blot out forever the hopes of an enslaved people may be one necessary link in the chain of events preparatory to the complete overthrow of the whole slave system." A Northern, Southern sympathizer,

Stephen A. Douglas and an unsure Republican, Abraham Lincoln had a series of debates on slavery. These two men were to meet again in the 1860 presidential elections. Douglas had guided the Kansas-Nebraska Act through Congress and referred to Lincoln as "a friend of black people." But Lincoln then did not--and probably never did--favor equality for black people. Lincoln's logic ran something like this: Black people are "not my equal in many respects" but he goes on to say the black man "in the right to eat the bread, without leave of anybody else, which his own hand earns. . . is my equal and . . . the equal of every living man." In the debates Lincoln said, "Let us discard all this quibbling about this man and the other--this race and that race, and the other race being inferior. . . Let us discard all these things, and unite as one people, throughout this land, until we shall once more stand up declaring "that all men are created equal."

When President-elect Lincoln arrived in Washington in late February 1861 the nation was not only divided but was rapidly falling away. Already seven states had left the Union. Then Fort Sumter, and the new president acted immediately, but the fort cost him four more Southern states. Blacks offered to fight the South. Explorer Jacob Dodson, who had ridden with Kit Carson and John C. Fremont, Dr. G. P. Miller, future Congressman, Richard Cain, Frederick Douglass and others offered to raise forces of black troops and thousands of individuals offered their services; but they were all turned down. "We were told that this was a white man's war and that the Negro had nothing to do with it."

Lincoln and many Northerners took this view maybe because they felt the black man inferior, maybe to keep from alienating the Southerners and surely because they did not see the war freeing the slave necessarily. But Alexander Stephens, the Confederate Vice-President said, "Our Confederacy is founded upon. . . the great truth that the Negro is not equal to the white man. That slavery--subordination to the superior race--is his natural and normal condition. This, our new government is the first in the history of the world, based on this great physical and moral truth." So the South was going to war to defend its "peculiar institution."

Lincoln, it seems, did not know why he was going to war and whatever it was blacks were not concerned with it.

When the Union armies moved South and started taking over land, slaves ran into their lines by the thousands. Yet their relief, freedom and employment was a problem; there was no federal policy and each commanding officer was left to his own discretion. Many found their lot no better than it had been as slaves. They were forced to work by the soldiers, their movement was restricted and their needs were barely met. The federal policy for relief of the freedman developed so slowly that private persons undertook to supplement it.

For example, Lincoln allowed General Winfield Scott to help Virginia slaveholders to catch and return runaway slaves. He also countermanded the order of many anti-slavery generals.

General Benjamin Butler refused to return runaway slaves at Fort Monroe, Virginia and classified them as "contraband of war," goods useful to the enemy. This made Fort Monroe a haven for runaways and was the foundation upon which the Union built the first Confiscation Act of 1862.

The Army set up contraband camps from Washington to Memphis to care for blacks and put them to work. They did all sorts of menial labor for the Army including picking cotton on abandoned plantations for the Treasury. The shift of able-bodied men from Rebel to Union lines aided the war effort considerably.

In 1862 a Second Confiscation Act was passed. These Acts that henceforth all slaves who escaped from rebel masters would automatically be free, whether or not they had been used to aid the Confederacy. This also banned slavery from the District of Columbia and Western territories.

As the war dragged on, Lincoln became more understanding and sympathetic in his view toward black people, even though he had determined that the struggle would not become an anti-slavery crusade and he was willing to compromise with the South in doing so to preserve the Union. "If I could save the Union without freeing any slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that."

But in reality there was no Union. Lincoln was saying that if the Southern states rejoined the Union they could keep their slaves and do with them as they liked. Every step he took toward helping the black man was forced upon him.

In the South slaves were put in Confederate military (labor) battalions, freeing white men for combat duty. Congress, in 1861, authorized the use of captured Confederate black laborers in the Union Army. A few months later military commanders were allowed not to return runaway slaves. Slavery was shortly abolished in the District of Columbia and in the western territories. All slaves who came under Union control were to be freed. In 1862 the war was turning against slavery. President Lincoln authorized payment to loyal slaveholders for freeing their slaves; border states rejected this plan as they wanted to stay in the Union and keep slaves as well. Lincoln offered to settle blacks in Haiti, Central America or Africa, but they refused saying: "Many of us have our own house and other property amounting, in the aggregate, to millions of dollars. Shall we sacrifice this, leave our homes, forsake our birthplace, and flee to a strange land, to appease the anger and prejudice of the traitors now in arms against the government?"

Being forced to really take things as they were "he (Lincoln) came up with a moderate two-phase plan: (a) to emancipate the slaves gradually and compensate their owners with federal funds; (b) to colonize the emancipated slaves and free Negroes overseas." The two-part plan was rejected as mentioned above by the slaveholders in the border states and by the blacks.

The President finally recognized that a Union victory was in danger unless he formally proclaimed the war to be against slavery. On 22 September 1862 he issued a preliminary Emancipation Proclamation proclaiming that as of 1 January 1863 all slaves in the states which were still in rebellion would be set free. What hallow words! Not a single slave was nor could be set free by this act; however, it had a great impact in Europe.

"Once let the black man get an eagle on his button, a musket on his shoulder and bullets in his pocket, and there is not power on earth which can deny that he had earned the rights to citizenship in the United States" thus spoke Frederick Douglass in 1863. However, in spite of the policies against blacks participating in the white man's war many had. Before the end of the Civil War over 200,000 blacks were serving in Union forces, 180,000 in the Army and 20,000 in the Navy. Over 38,000 died in the fight for freedom. As in all the other wars blacks served heroically. In nearly 500 battles they won praises from blacks and whites and Northerners and Southerners. Four black sailors and twenty soldiers won the Congressional Medal of Honor. Said Lincoln "they have proved themselves among the bravest of the brave, performing deeds of daring and shedding their blood with a heroism unsurpassed by soldiers of ANY other race."

Black soldiers were segregated into separate units (Navy men were fully integrated onboard ships) their uniforms and equipment were of poorer quality. Provisions were poor and delivered irregularly. There was little chance for promotion, adequate medical care was rare and the pay was less. If they were captured they starved, sold into slavery or more than likely killed. We all know of Fort Pillow of Tennessee. The wholesale slaughter of black prisoners finally led Lincoln to warn the Confederacy that the Union Army would take the same action against Southern prisoners of war.

The morale of the black soldier and people remained high. Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth and many other black women performed vital tasks in the war effort. They were nurses, spies, teachers and generally did whatever there was for them to do.

Even during the war years racist violence increased both in the North as well as in the South. Because so many slaves were running away slave patrols were increased and punishment for running away became harsher and harsher. Killing slaves became common in the South and in the North roving gangs attacked and lynched defenseless innocent blacks. Deep anti-black prejudice was surfaced in the North and it was just as ugly as slavery was in the South. Much of this had to do with the growing numbers of immigrants coming into America from Europe, the struggle for jobs and higher salaries.

Blacks did everything they could to hasten the end of the war, for they were suffering more than anyone else--especially in the South. They formed all types of "self-help" organizations and mutual aid societies to look after their physical needs, to provide education, to give protection and do whatever they could to get free, to prepare themselves to become productive citizens. They really thought they were going to be free!

In 1864 with the war still raging, Lincoln won re-election pledging his support to the anti-slavery constitution. Andrew Johnson of Tennessee was his Vice-Presidential running mate. General Sherman marched to the seas, General Sheridan was taking Virginia and the war was being won. I must say that it was black cavalry units which captured the Confederate capitol of Richmond. The blacks heard "With bayonet you have unlocked the iron-barred gates of prejudice, opening new fields of freedom, liberty and equality to yourselves and your race forever."

General Robert E. Lee ended the Civil War at Appomattox, Virginia in April 1865, after his units were beaten by Union forces, including large numbers of black units.

Reconstruction--A Second Chance

Yes, the war had ended and for four million black Americans slavery had ended. It was a time for rejoicing, but really what lay ahead for the man? There were a lot of questions that had to be answered. Of the new freed man: Where would he live? Where would he work? What about education? How were they to overcome the prejudice in a very hostile land? Black leaders, more than whites so it seems, knew that the freeing of the slave was the beginning and not the end of an enormous task. In December 1863 during the war Douglass had said: "A mightier work than the abolition of slavery now looms up before the Abolitionist. This society was organized for two distinct objects: one was the emancipation of the slave, and the other the elevation of the colored people. When we have taken the chains off the slave, as I believe we shall do, we shall find a harder resistance to the second purpose of this great association than we have found even upon slavery itself." Oh, how true he was; for prejudice and racism survived the Civil War. Slavery had collapsed but a long and painful road still stretched ahead for the black man in America. Nevertheless, the reconstruction was a second chance. The black man forgave all, he was willing to work with all peoples doing what he could to make the American ideals become American reality. Never had there been so much hope--there never has since been as much hope! Negroes rose to many high positions; Lieutenant Governors, Secretaries of State, Adjutant Generals, Judges, Generals in state militias, Mayors. Negroes and whites were going to schools together, working together, riding public transportation together, living side by side in cities; it was very fashionable for white men to marry Negro women. There was hope, there was a possibility that a little black boy could grow up to become a Governor or even President of the United States. The Year of Jubilee had come. On 31 January 1865 the House of Representatives passed the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution. The states would approve it, the promise of President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 would be fulfilled. The 13th Amendment ended slavery.

The slave worked on education and the Freedmen's Bureau assisted by building public schools in the 11 former Confederate states and blacks of all ages went day and night. A white Tennessee school official said in 1866: "The colored people are far more zealous in the cause of education than the whites. They will starve themselves, and go without clothes, in order to send their children to school." The former leaders of the Confederacy were against public schools, especially for blacks. They felt education would make them restless, defiant and unsuited for labor in the field, house and factory. Whites openly said that "learning will spoil the negro for work" and that "Negro education will be the ruin of the South." The attitude of many Southerners was still that the black man was an inferior being and unfit for freedom and this attitude will not be changed easily.

The Negro wanted the right to vote. His demand was just. Lincoln said that the Negro "who have so heroically vindicated their manhood on the battlefield, . . . have demonstrated in blood their right to the ballot. . . . The restoration of the Rebel States to the Union must rest upon the principle of civil and political equality of both races." Yet Lincoln undermined the blacks and their position by publically voicing sympathy and compassion for the white South. He further felt that the white citizens of the South were misled into rebellion by their leaders, hence they were not traitors, but their leaders were. Everyone except a handful of very high-ranking military and government leaders were fully pardoned. His reconstruction plans called for new constitutions and "home-rule." To regain their political rights only 10 percent of the states' citizens with voting rights in 1860 must take a loyalty oath. But his plan denied the freedman the right to vote!

The freedmen and many Republican leaders were angered with Lincoln, the second chance was being lost. The South would again be in the hands of the same men who had rebelled and left the Union, and these same whites were still very stubbornly against any form of equality for the freedman. But two of America's little-known giants were on the scene, Charles Sumner and Thaddeus Stevens. These leaders wanted the right to vote for the freedmen; they wanted to assure this right by a strong military occupation of the South. Many Northerners agreed with Stevens and Sumner. They were angry because, even in defeat, many white Southerners continued to be hostile to the Union and to blacks. The Northerners did not want the South to be totally forgiven immediately for its rebellion.

Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, a life-long friend of the Negro was a leading Radical. He once was beaten to the floor of the Senate for his anti-Southern views.

Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania was the most powerful foe of "moderate reconstruction." He urged granting free land to the freedman and was a vocal ally of the Negro. Stevens had always been a strong abolitionist even before the war.

Lincoln was persistent for he wanted to "bind up the wounds" of war for the Southern whites while rubbing salt into the wounds of loyal blacks. In his second Inaugural Address he talked about "malice toward none," "charity for all," "binding up the Nation's wounds," but he never pleaded for the black man nor took up his cause. He even tried to condone a government (Louisiana's) which had ignored his suggestions and disregarded the law; he called on the North and the freedman to be patient! Be patient! He said he would find ways to change the South's way of thinking but what that was we will never really know. President Abraham Lincoln was assassinated while watching a play in Ford's Theater in Washington, D. C. on April 14, 1865.

Lincoln's actions and words indicated that the man was in a dilemma. It is a fact that events, the time and progress happened to meet and that a man--Lincoln--happened to be on the stage at the time. Lincoln was not a great man--he was a man who because of the circumstances and what happened against his will and other things he was forced to do is considered great. He was not big enough to do the hard things at the dark hours. President Lincoln was a man--a good man; but a great man, NO!

Fredrick Douglass, a black man who knew and worked with Lincoln said of him eleven years after his death, "our faith in him was often taxed and strained to the uppermost, it never failed. . . We (blacks) saw him, measured him and estimated him. . . in the stern logic of great events. . . and we came to the conclusion that the hour and the man of our redemption had somehow met in the person of Abraham Lincoln." Everyone knew Lincoln's "great mission was to. . . first, save his country from dismemberment and ruin." The black man--that was another question.

Johnson, a former "poor white" from Tennessee, became President. He started off with a bang, he had talked of his hatred for wealthy Southerners; he blamed them for the war and said that he would deal severely with them. A week after he took office he said, "Treason is a crime and crime must be punished. Treason must be made infamous and traitors must be punished. . . They must not only be punished, but their social power must be destroyed." Johnson was a Southerner and States' Righter. Johnson gave in to the South; he pardoned all but a very, very few former Confederate leaders. He allowed the states to reform their states and elect their own leaders as they saw fit. Since Johnson was getting rich he lost sight of all else! Pardon brokers got wealthy Southerners presidential pardons for \$500 and about 100 per day were granted; in nine months there were 14,000.

Johnson was so "high-handed" that he did most things without even consulting the Congress. As example, his first annual message on 6 December 1865 he surprised the Congress by announcing that state governments had been established throughout the South and that the Union had been restored!!

He was angered when Congress questioned this but the radical Congressmen were enraged at his "presumption." They were even more enraged by the defiant behavior of the new state governments which Johnson had organized. The persons the South sent to Congress were all ex-Confederates, including the former Vice-President of the Confederacy, several ex-Confederate Generals, Colonels and other officers. Johnson supported these governments and their "elected" officials. These Johnson-supported governments made no effort to include the Negro, in fact, on the contrary they intended and began to re-shackle the Negro. They wrote the "Black Codes" which among other things prevented blacks from entering any occupation other than farming without a license, they barred blacks from owning land, blacks were not allowed to travel freely, they had almost no civil rights; even in contracts they were termed "servants" while whites were termed "masters." Throughout the South Negroes held meetings to declare that they were not being treated fairly and were being outraged by the policies and treatment of the former Confederates. They appealed to everyone in power including the President for protection. These appeals spurred the Radical Congress to come to their assistance in spite of the President's pro-South position. Congress refused to seat the representatives and senators elected from the Johnson-supported governments. Congress then began to develop plans for their own "Reconstruction."

Three of the Congressional Reconstruction Acts were: (1) The Freedmen's Bureau Bill of 1866, (2) The Civil Rights Act of 1866 (extended citizenship, allowed testimony in court, making of contracts, was designed to destroy the Black Codes), (3) The Fourteenth Amendment (adopted July 1868). Because many Southerners claimed the Civil Rights Act was unconstitutional, Congress decided to settle the matter by adopting the Fourteenth Amendment. (The 13th freed the slave, the 14th made them citizens.) Most Southern states (all except Tennessee refused to ratify the 14th). In Memphis and New Orleans, whites rioted in the Negro areas; in many other areas white became more overtly anti-Negro. (4) The Reconstruction Act of 1867 (destroyed the Johnson-supported state governments and established military rule). (5) The Fifteenth Amendment (gave the right to vote to Negroes).

Now the Reconstruction began. Union troops were all over the South. New state governments established by the Reconstruction Acts began in 1868, and lasted up to 9 years. The entrance of Negroes into politics was a revolutionary event. (Up to 1835 a very, very few Negroes had been allowed to vote, but after 1835 no black was allowed to participate in politics whatsoever.) These new state governments consisted of blacks and whites. In spite of these gains there was no mutual confidence between Negroes and whites. Of the 1,330,000 persons left qualified to vote, 703,000 were black and 660,000 were white; most were Republicans. The proportion of office blacks obtained was always smaller than their percentage of the electorate. While many of the voters remained dependent on whites most of the officials were well-educated men.

During this period whites were generally placed in one of two categories if they were politicians or served in government in any way. Native Southerners who had not supported the Confederacy, for they had taken the "iron-clad" oath that they had always been loyal to the Union. The illiterate small farmers, business people, poor mountain whites and pro-Union planters were all lumped together and called "Scalawags." The second group were Northerners who settled in the South after or during the war, they were called "Carpetbaggers."

Southerners generally resented the blacks, the "carpetbagger" and the "scalawags" and the history we read generally voice the same views. However, even though some men in government were dishonest, blacks it has been found were not among these. These Congresses and Conventions wrote constitutions, passed laws and advanced the South greatly. Poor whites enjoyed every gain along with the blacks for really prior to the "Black Reconstruction" they were just "po white trash" or "white niggers." Free schools, paving of roads, equal voting rights, outlawing imprisonment for debt, tax relief to small land holders, branding and whipping disappeared; homes for the poor, insane, orphans, deaf and dumb were all introduced to the South during this period. Naturally, the public debt rose, railroads too came further South.

The North's failure to give the freedman land was one of the greatest failures of the Reconstruction. Reconstruction governments became less and less able to meet their financial obligations and the majority of the Southerners were not helping. One said, "It is impossible that your present power can endure, whether you use it for good or ill."

Because of more pressing demands the North was no longer really interested in the South and the black man's future, they just grew tired. By 1871 Tennessee, Virginia, North Carolina and Georgia was back in Democratic hands (anti-Negro), the other states rapidly followed.

In 1865 there were 4,000,000 blacks, 6,000,000 poor whites and 60,000 rich plantation owners. Some of these 60,000 and a few of the poor whites became the leaders that surfaced the white supremacy idea, pushed the white woman to a pedestal and advised every white man that it was his job to protect white women and keep the Negro in "his place."

Blacks were really slaves again. Since there was no land, no financial aid--nothing was given to the freedman except his "freedom." Even the people who were employed to protect him and work in his behalf was really not interested in him. The black Codes had reversed every step of progress made--the second chance was gone, lost, dashed and stomped on. The 22 black men in Congress were going, the blacks in other positions of prominence and influence were going. But their records, qualifications speeches and contributions in themselves are worth looking at.

White Southerners resented the Republicans and hated the Negro; they feared "Negro domination." The Negro must be put in his place. Then came the Knights of the White Camellia, the White Line, the Constitutional Union Guards, the Pale Faces, the White Brotherhood, the Council of Safety, the '76 Association, the Knights of the Rising Sun and the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. We all know of their deeds. The Civil War was really from 1861-1877 for after 1865 there was more bitterness and hatred and still a lot of bloodshed--of blacks.

In 1877 white Conservatives were in the place they held before the war, blacks were a few rungs lower. The North had lost interest. The troops were gone. The money no longer came. The North had its industry, immigration and urbanization to worry with. Thaddeus Stevens had died in 1868 and Sumner in 1873. The Republican Party also did not need the blacks after 1876. The black man had served his purpose; he could be dropped by the side of the road. Freedom road had ended! In 1876 Rutherford Hayes struck a bargain and the Union again compromised and gave in to the South at the expense of the Negro. He agreed to withdraw all troops from the South and thus abandon the slave.

1877 or Hayes Compromise: Presidential election. Samuel J. Tilden of New York, a Democrat, was thought to be the winner until Republicans in three Southern States charged that the Democrats intimidated black voters. An investigation began but the Democrats agreed to give the election to Hayes, the Republican, in return for certain favors: subsidies for Southern railroads, a Southern Postmaster General and removal of all federal troops from the South. With the removal of the troops the blacks' positions steadily eroded. The bright Reconstruction was turning into a dark nightmare. Hayes began the "let alone" policy in which states could do whatever they pleased and the federal government would let them alone.

The courts were used to favor the white Southerner, to legalize "Jim Crow" laws by finding that "race discrimination" and "race distinction" were different and the latter not contrary to the Constitution.

A dream died with Sumner and Stevens. "If Negroes wish to honor the greatest friend they ever had in public life, they should place wreaths on the tomb of Charles Sumner," said F. Douglass. And Stevens who was buried in a Negro Cemetery had the stone above him say,

"I repose in this quiet and secluded spot,
not from any natural preference for solitude,
but finding other cemeteries
limited by charter rules as to race,
I have chosen this that I might illustrate in my death
the principles which I advocated through a long life
Equality of man before his Creator."

The Reconstruction was a time of hope, the period when the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments were adopted. The Reconstruction reached its legislative climax in 1875 with the passage of the first civil rights law. Negroes were given the right to equal accommodations, facilities, and advantages of public transportation, inns, theaters, places of public amusement and recreation but the law was poorly enforced. Negroes were elected to every Southern legislature, 20 served in the U.S. House of Representatives, two represented Mississippi in the U.S. Senate, and a Negro was briefly Governor of Louisiana. Critics made no mention that Negroes were graduated from Northern or European colleges and every means were employed to drive them from public life. During this bold experiment blacks and whites lived in peace and harmony and if radical whites had not interfered American would have gone on and lived out the true meaning of those words "all men are created equal." Had all men given it a chance little black boys and little white boys, little black girls and little white girls would now be going to school all over this land together and there would be no fussing over bussing. Had the Federal Government stood up and enforced the laws of the land, we all could now freely sing "free at last, free at last, Thank God Almighty, we are free at last."

The Negro had shown everyone that he could do anything a white man could do, given the training and the opportunity. They had served well, they had taken care of what they earned, they were honest, they were loyal, they were men--their only crime was that they were black men.

So, America stood by and let a God-given chance to right a wrong, to correct a mistake, to live up to an ideal, to practice a principle, to make a dream come true, go by. The Reconstruction was a second chance and whether or not we could afford not to take it, we didn't.

Separate but Equal--The Collapse of Reconstruction = Jim Crow

"As Southern white governments returned to power, beginning with Louisiana in 1877, the program of relegating the Negro to a subordinate place in American life was accelerated. Disfranchisement was the first step. Negroes who defied the Klan and tried to vote faced an array of deceptions and obstacles --polling places were changed at the last minute without notice to Negroes, severe time limitation were imposed on making complicated ballots, votes cast incorrectly in a maze of ballot boxes were nullified. The suffrage provisions of state constitutions were rewritten to disenfranchise Negroes who could not read, understand, or interpret the Constitution. Some state constitutions permitted those who failed the tests to vote if their ancestors had been eligible to vote on January 1, 1860, when no Negro could vote anywhere in the South. . . when the Supreme Court, in 1883, declared the Civil Rights Act of 1875 unconstitutional, Southern states began to enact laws to segregate the races. In 1896, the Supreme Court, in *Plessy vs. Ferguson*, approved "separate but equal" facilities; it was then that segregation became an established fact, "by law and by custom." Reconstruction did not end abruptly as the result of Congressional or Presidential action. Rather it came to a gradual end as restraints were relaxed and stringent legislation repealed. Just as "Reconstruction" began before the war was over, and the war had started long before Fort Sumter, so too it grew to a close before the final withdrawal of troops.

Although the Ku Klux Klan Act of 1871 had made it a crime to belong to such secret terrorist organizations it and many other white organizations insured that the reconstruction would fail. They rode, they raped, they hung, they murdered, they burned, they did any and everything they could to keep the Negro in his place and out of white folk's business. They, with the pussyfooting of the government, insured that Jim Crow replaced slavery. Few stood with the Negro. The Republicans forgot him. The Democrats became white supremacists. The Congress was divided and hypocritical. The Supreme Court was racist. The people, well I just mentioned people. Black people stood up, they fought and died all over this land, they had tasted freedom, they had caught a glimpse of liberty, they had smelled equality, they had heard opportunity and they would have them or die trying. But the Negro, like the Indian, found that the white man did not come in one's, they don't come in tens, they don't come in fifties--they come in hundreds! So the black man began to become a recluse, to disappear, to shuffle, smile and keep moving. So, with violence coming from the Red Shirts and night riders, the respectable whites began to content themselves with other types of intimidation on the grandest scales. The Negro vanished from public life--he became invisible. Politics was the hub of public life and the Negro was so thoroughly, subtly and systematically disenfranchised, most of them did not really know how it happened.

The Democrats had never really allowed blacks in the South and T. Thomas Fortune, the foremost black editor of his day, said "The Republican Party has eliminated the colored man from politics. . . It has left the black man to fight his own battles." This was true of not only the GOP but of white America.

In 1883 the United States Supreme Court declared unconstitutional the Congressional Civil Rights Act of 1875! They also said, eight of the nine gentlemen of the court--Justice John Marshall Harlan singly objected that the 14th Amendment prohibited discrimination by the states, not private individuals, and therefore the federal government had no right to interfere. In 1896, 13 years later, came the *Plessy vs. Ferguson* decision and separate but equal--Jim Crow.

There are many stories about Jim Crow, who he was, if he was and how he became notorious. Lerone Bennett says, "Thomas Dartmouth Rice, one of the white pioneers in comic representation of Negro, saw James Crow (James Crow is an unknown soldier. Some writers say he was a Cincinnati, Ohio, slave; others say he was a Charleston, S. C., slave. Some writers say Crow came from old Mr. Crow, the slaveowner; others say the Crow came from the simile, black as a crow) in Kentucky or Ohio and immortalized him in dialect.

'Weel a-bout and turn a-bout
And do just so
Everytime I weel a-bout
I jump Jim Crow.'

. . . Rice shuffled across the stage at New York's Bowery Theatre in 1832 and gave America its first international song hit. . . (later) he was no longer singing. *There are many versions on Jim Crow*, which is correct no one will ever know. He turned mean. The cornerstones of the great wall were two taboos: interracial eating and intermarriage. Fear. Frenzy. White womanhood. Brick by brick, bill by bill, fear by fear, the wall grew taller and taller. The deaf, the dumb and the blind were separated by color. White nurses were forbidden to treat Negro males. White teachers were forbidden to teach Negro students. "In places people could not look out of the same window, there were "white" and "Negro" or "Colored" books, water fountains, parks, Bibles in court, phone booths, prostitutes, entrances, and cemeteries; everything was labeled. Only South Africa and Nazi Germany have pushed men's fears to such levels.

For those who refused to obey Jim Crow there was the corporal punishment boys who were always ready to ride to put some uppity niger in his place. Many times it was a beating, sometimes, though seldom, a warning or a cross burning, most often it was a killing or at least an attempt to kill. Even Tom Watson's Peoples' Party was a failure because it ignored Mr. Jim Crow.

Populism's failure was due in large measure to its attempt to bridge the color line. To Negroes the aftermath of the Populist revolt was galling. Seeking a scapegoat, many of the party's former leaders turned on the Negro. Also, the growing political influence of the poor white and their anti-Negro bias led to the adoption of Jim Crow legislation to bolster their self-esteem. It was the lower-class white who insisted on social superiority and that titles including "Mr" and "Mrs" be dropped when addressing blacks, and that all whites be addressed with respect and that white women be treated as goddesses and not even be looked at by black men.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois has said, "to beat a beaten man. . . to kill the defenseless, to break the spirit of the black man and humiliate him into hopelessness, to establish a new dictatorship of property in the South through the color line. . . to build wealth on a foundation of poverty." Speaking of the black man who came of Jim Crowism, DuBois said, "He did not believe himself a man like other men. He could not teach his children self-respect. . . . There was no chance for the black man; there was no use striving; ambition was not for Negroes." American began to waste talent, exploit potential and retard progress because it shackled the black man.

The Negro church, which has unconsciously been used to keep blacks in their place, became life for the Negro. The church became the center of his spiritual, social, economic, political and intellectual life. Black preachers have always had a broader role than just preaching the gospel; he has always been "the man's" representative. He became "a walking encyclopedia, the counselor of the unwise, the friend of the unfortunate, the social welfare organizer and the interpreter of the signs of the times." Neither was the church just a place for worship. It was a place which performed many services; it was a community center, a place for relaxation and recreation, a welfare center, an employment agency, a center for dispensing advice in all areas, especially economically. It perhaps performed its most yeoman service in the area of education. The black church founded schools at all levels, many of them are still operating this day.

In 1890 Congress considered two important bills intended to increase the black vote: (a) improving public education; (b) supervising national elections so as to reduce anti-Negro frauds. These failed and in 1891 states called conventions for the express purpose of disfranchising any remaining Negroes from voting. Thus came poll tax, denial of ballot to those convicted of minor crimes, literacy tests, and if these things did not work, well the Klan's job was to save the South, to protect the purity of white womanhood, etc.

Lynchings increased. Over 3,000 between 1882 and 1900 alone that were recorded. Whole towns, including women and children, often brought bunches to the hanging tree to see some poor helpless black man hung up and most of the time for something like acting uppity, being sassy, looking at a white woman, or some other foolishness, like bad manners, rape, insulting whites, stealing or looking smart.

Racism became the order of the day. Many Northern scientists began supporting Southern racist doctrines. America's foreign policy, became racist, especially with the war of 1898. As early as the 1870's labor organizations rose and fell over race, the Populist included.

But blacks did not take this lying down, they tried. They protested and did everything they could to be free. Many black leaders could be mentioned; I will only mention two, Frederick Douglass and Ida B. Wells were reknown for their fight for freedom. Miss Wells was a strong anti-lynch crusader.

"Pap" Singleton started a "colored exodus" in 1879 westward. Thousands of blacks left the South, many went to Kansas and Oklahoma while a few went to Texas and Arkansas. But blacks had been West, in fact blacks and gone West before with the Spanish. The black man was a part of the West, not only as settlers but as cowboys, scouts, trappers and Indian fighters. Nigger out there appears not to have been a bad word but a way of identifying oneself or of being identified.

Men like Deadwood Dick, Jesse Stahl and Bill Pickett (Bill taught Will Rogers to use a rope and Theodore Roosevelt to ride, devised the "bulldogging" technique and for years was The Rodeo Star). Blacks died on both sides at Little Big Horn. Blacks were 1/5th of the Western Army.

Another interesting black man at this time was Bishop Henry M. Turner. He once said he wished the U.S. "nothing but ill and endless misfortune." He thought blacks should leave the country since it hated him. While Bishop Turner was saying go to Africa another black man "Pap" Singleton was telling them to go West--to Kansas. Frederick Douglass thought however that blacks should stay wherever they were and demand their rights.

During the 1890's black professional organizations sprang up since they could not join white associations. These included organizations for teachers, editors, doctors, engineers and there were many black unions.

Of course the largest and most important segregated institution was the church. The church accepted and condoned segregation. During this period black business men began urging blacks to "buy black."

Blacks generally tried to help themselves since they saw no one trying to help them. The strongly supported public schools and paid many dollars to keep them going; the personal hardships worked on black parents were staggering. In this self-help spirit many black institutions began manual, industrial and agriculture programs. Such programs appealed to black leaders supporting accommodating whites at the expense of blacks. Southern whites who wanted to keep blacks working with their hands rather than becoming professional and Northern philanthropists who wanted to help blacks but who did not want to give them any "fancy ideas" about equality and cause them to get "uppity."

While Booker T. Washington did not invent industrial education he became its foremost advocate. In 1895, 14 years after he had been sent out to found Tuskegee, he delivered a speech at the Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta, Georgia. In his speech, called by others The Atlanta Compromise, he made it clear that he was willing to accept the Jim Crow system and second-class citizenship if whites would allow Negroes to advance economically. He praised whites for their help and patience in the past and criticized blacks for protesting and not doing enough to improve their condition. He advised blacks that they could and should gain the right to full citizenship only after they took pride in themselves and prospered as farmers and craftsmen.

The Atlanta Compromise did one important thing; it began intense activity among Negroes--and produced several leaders. Booker T. Washington delivered his very inspiring and now famous speech in September 1895; five years later the last black Congressman, Representative George H. White of North Carolina, rose to deliver his farewell speech. He said, "This is perhaps the Negroes' temporary farewell to the American Congress; but. . . he will rise up some day and come again. . . full of potential force."

Yes, there were some whites even in the South who stood up and spoke for black Americans, but their voice was drowned out, their feeble efforts overpowered, their faint protest ignored.

Blacks were relegated to the farms as sharecroppers or had to hire themselves out as field workers. Entire families picked cotton for a few cents a day or at the end of the year were told that they owed the plantation owner money. Even in large Northern cities, blacks earned just enough to barely stay alive. Children worked in factories for 10 and 15 cents a day. The convict-lease system was invented and exploited for the benefit of wealthy white landowners or the state. Yet, blacks held their faith in

America and their hopes for equality never dimmed. They forgot the days when there was no Jim Crow--they resigned themselves to their harsh lot while frantically searching for a way to escape the white man's bigotry and racism. U.S. Senator "Pitchfork Ben" Tillman spoke of the period and the white man when he said, "We have scratched our heads to find out how we could eliminate the last of them. We stuffed ballot boxes. We shot them. We are not ashamed of it." So America stood tall, Americans stood proud!

But it was a very costly price America paid for this color line. Since all issues were subordinated to the issue of the Negro, it became impossible to have free and open discussions of problems affecting all the peoples. Actually only a few people were white supremacists, but it is always a few people who become involved that influence and dictate to the masses.

Secretly Washington used thousands of dollars to fight segregation laws while he publically obtained more educational and politic charity for blacks than any man before him, including Fredrick Douglass.

In 1900 there were 8,833,904 Negroes--who admitted to being Negro--in the United States. 89.7% of these lived in the South and they made up one-third of the total Southern population. Life expectancy of the Negro was 34 years compared with 48 for the white Americans. The Negro professional class included: 21,267 teachers and professors; 15,528 preachers; 1,734 doctors; 212 dentists; 310 journalists; 728 lawyers; over 5,000 actors and showmen; 236 artists, sculptors and art teachers; 3,915 musicians and music teachers; 247 photographers; 52 architects, designers, draftsmen and inventors and one Congressman. There were four Negro banks. 24% of the U.S. Negroes owned their own homes. 44.5% of Negroes will illiterate. More than 2,000 Negroes had college degrees. Negroes had paid \$40,000,000 in cash for educating their children. Jim Crow laws were being written all over the South. Negroes were being lynched everywhere. In 1899 alone 85 Negroes were known to have been lynched. Negroes owned \$499,943,734 in farm property alone. The Reconstruction had failed--America had been given a chance to practice what it preached; in effect America had failed and it will never again have a chance like it did before the collapse of the Reconstruction.

Ida B. Wells, was driven out of Memphis in 1892 for publishing information exposing those who had taken part in lynchings. Two years later she published "A Red Record." This was the first book to document the crime of lynching and this was her conclusion. "... We demand a fair trial by law for those accused of crime, and punishment by law after honest conviction. No maudlin sympathy for criminals is solicited, but we do ask that those who control the forces which make public sentiment join with us in the demand. Surely the humanitarian spirit of this country which reaches out to denounce the treatment of Russian Jews; the Armenian Christians, and laboring poor of Europe, the Siberian exiles, and the native woman of India--will not longer refuse to lift its voice on this subject. If it were known that the 'cannibals' or the 'savage Indians' had burned three human beings alive in the past two years, the whole of Christendom would be roused, to devise ways and means to put a stop to it. Can you remain silent and inactive when such things are done in our own community and country? Is your duty to humanity in the United States less binding?" Is it?

Separate but Equal--A Dream Denied

In 1901 the black man could hear Bishop Turner telling them to return to Africa, Ben Singleton saying go West, Booker T. Washington advising them to stay in the South and W. E. B. DuBois and Marion Trotter saying go North. This new generation of men, many never knowing slavery but all feeling uncomfortably close to it, were restless and adventuresome. They wanted self respect, not Jim Crow; they wanted a chance to be somebody, they dreamed the American dream and they wanted to see it come true; they wanted to be men with dignity.

They began to search for that dream. They looked for those sand castles, they went to New York City, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, Cleveland, Washington, D. C., anywhere so long as it was "North."

They did not know that the North shared in the blame for their treatment--in the South. The white North controlled the nation economically and politically. The North had the power; it has always had the power but it has lacked the will. It has always been indifferent to the problems and pleas to black Americans, its conscience has been hard to prick.

In the early 1900's blacks went North only to find thousands of poor white European immigrants. These poor people competed with American born blacks for housing and employment--and they--the white foreign born immigrant won; because, they were white.

Few, very few blacks found success in the North, New York's Harlem and Philadelphia's Seventh Ward being typical of Northern cities--when blacks began moving into these neighborhoods whites "began fleeing as from a plague."

They say if you's white, you's all right;
If you's brown, stick around,
But as you'r black, mmm mmm, brother,
git back, git back, git back.

Negroes had always had members of their race excelling in arts, literature, science, education, medicine and all other endeavors. Men such as Frank Buchser and Thomas Eakin were in the arts; James Bland and Marion Cook were among the leading songwriters, there were countless groups like The Rabbit Foot Minstrels. The Georgia Minstrels, The Jubilee Singers; there were great actors like Bert Williams and George Walker; and of course Paul Lawrence Dunbar stands alone as one of the greatest poets of all time.

Be proud my Race, in mind and soul
Thy name is writ on glory's scroll
In characters of fire.
High 'mid the clouds of fame's bright sky
They banners' blazoned folds now fly,
And truth shall lift them higher.

Henry O. Tanner and Edwin M. Bannister distinguished themselves as painters and men like Chalmers W. Chestnutt became great writers. George Washington Williams and John W. Cromwell were among the first black historians. We could go on and on mentioning men like Jan Matzelizer, Granville T. Woods, Lewis H. Latimer, Elijah P. McCoy, George Washington Carver, Daniel H. Williams, Matt Henson, W. E. B. DuBois, Marion Trotter, Garrett A. Morgan and countless others but let us say blacks were contributing to making America great.

The U.S. was having trouble with the war prizes it had won in military campaigns, notably: Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines. Sure, the black American had glimmers of hope. They could see one or two fellow blacks moving up, they thought they too had a chance. Booker T. Washington called for

patience, but there is a limit to a man's patience. They began to ask how long--how long must we suffer the terror of the mob, how long shall we endure the indignities of Jim Crow, how long must I sit with poverty, how long shall I take the blight of inferior schools and inadequate housing--how long.

Two interconnected developments were outstanding throughout the early part of this century. One was the Southern program to disenfranchise and segregate blacks which started in the 1890's--this was done with the support of the North and every branch of government. Things were dark for blacks, perhaps as dark as they had ever seen it. Coupled with this was the determination and faith which gave rise to all types of protest. They were becoming increasingly disillusioned with Booker T. Washington and his 1895 Atlanta speech. They began a massive split.

In the North blacks could not succeed because they could not get decent education, or decent jobs, or decent housing nor were they treated decently socially; therefore, many black migrants lived in disease, poverty, crime and hopelessness. Through segregation, under-employment and poor education, whites made it almost impossible for blacks to improve their lot.

As if things were not bad enough in 1904 a series of anti-Negro riots began. In 1904 in Statesboro, Georgia a mob broke into a courtroom, took two black men on trial for murdering a white family and burned them alive.

Then they randomly attacked any black person seen. In September of 1906 in Atlanta four days of unchecked violence took place after newspapers reported unfounded rumors. White mobs roamed the city burning, looting and lynching Negroes. In Brownsville, Texas, in 1906, three companies of black soldiers of the battle-formed 25th Army Regiment were dishonorably discharged by President Theodore Roosevelt after they defended themselves after being attacked by white men.

Blacks began to accuse Roosevelt of betraying them, they broke with Booker T. Washington whose philosophy of accommodation, they said, gave comfort to Jim Crow and mob violence.

A young Harvard graduate Monroe Trotter was among the first to oppose Washington. He founded a newspaper, the Boston Guardian, in which he attacked Washington. Beginning in 1903 Trotter and his followers began trying to wrest control of the Afro-American Council from Washington. He, in a very emotional speech, asked Washington, "Is the rope and the torch all the race is to get under your leadership?"

Another Harvard graduate, W. E. B. DuBois, published his "The Souls of Black Folk." This book was another "Uncle Tom's Cabin" in that "Historians generally credit this important book with bringing together the more outspoken critics of accommodation, splitting Negro leaders into two contending camps." Monroe Trotter and his followers supported DuBois.

The quest for equality was intensified when DuBois wrote to many of the nation's foremost black scholars, professional and business leaders: "The time seems more than ripe for organized, determined and aggressive action on the part of men who believe in Negro freedom and growth. Movements are on foot threatening individual freedom and our self-respect. I write you to propose a conference during the coming summer."

DuBois had the most outstanding educational record of any black man in the country and was one of America's leading scholars. The DuBois-Trotter movement realized that the Negro was poor and downtrodden but they felt that this was no excuse for not attacking the oppression which created, maintained and condoned his condition. So DuBois wrote to the nation's foremost black men requesting that they meet with him.

This signaled a break with Booker T. Washington and as a result 29 black leaders met in 1905 at Niagara Falls in Canada--not in the U.S. because black men could not use the hotels on the New York side--the meeting ended with the formation of the Niagara Movement. The next year the members of the Niagara Movement met in Harper's Ferry, Virginia and at this symbolic site DuBois wrote a declaration that said: "We will not be satisfied to ask one jot or tittle less than our full manhood rights. We claim for ourselves every single right that belongs to a free-born American, political, civil and social; and until we get these rights we will never cease to protest and assail the ears of America. The battle we wage is not for ourselves alone but for all true Americans. It is a fight for ideals, lest this, our common fatherland, false to its founding, become in truth the land of Thief and the home of the Slave. . . ."

The Niagara Movement provided the foundation for the NAACP. There were six major race riots between 1900 and 1910 and this was enough to cause the growing number of influential whites to support the black man's cause. In May 1910 at the call of the editor of the New York Post, O. G. Villard, a group met and from that meeting emerged the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. DuBois in the NAACP's national magazine editorialized: "The great day is coming. . . We have crawled and pleaded for justice and we have been cheerfully spit upon and murdered and burned. We will not endure it forever. If we are to die, in God's name, let us perish like men and not like bales of hay." The NAACP through massive publicity and agitation succeeded in greatly reducing the number of lynchings, which had been averaging more than 100 each year since 1880. The chain gang system and child labor was also vigorously opposed. The NAACP tried to protect blacks from legal discrimination in all facets of life. One of the earliest and most important victories came in 1915 when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled the "grandfather clauses" unconstitutional. Because of its brilliant succession of legal victories, its determined opposition to lynching and other racial injustices coupled with the leadership of black men such as W. E. B. DuBois and James Weldon Johnson, the NAACP was by far the foremost civil rights organization. Ida B. Wells was among the founders of the NAACP and personally continued and led the fight to end lynching.

The National Urban League was formed in 1911 by George E. Haynes. The National Urban League sought to improve housing conditions, health care, job opportunities and educational recreational facilities.

As blacks fought and distinguished themselves in the Spanish-American War, so too did they in World War I. DuBois called on black Americans to "close ranks" in backing the U.S. war effort. He wrote: "Let us not hesitate. Let us, while this war lasts, forget our special grievances and close ranks shoulder to shoulder with our own white fellow citizens and the allied nations that are fighting for democracy. We make no ordinary sacrifice, but we make it gladly and willingly"; the next month he wrote, "If this is our country, then this is our war."

During the summer of 1919 urban centers across the country exploded and white mobs hunted down Negroes and attacked them without provocation--except that they were black. The summer was so violent that it is now known as the "Red Summer." Massive police power was used against blacks when they tried to protect themselves. Places like Elaine, Arkansas; Knoxville, Tennessee; Omaha Nebraska; Chicago, Illinois; and East St. Louis, Illinois saw some of the most vicious violence. Blacks and their property were attacked openly. The Ku Klux Klan had been revived under a fiery cross on Stone Mountain in Georgia but this time the Klan did not remain in the South, it flourished all over the country.

By the mid-twenties the bulk of the Klan membership was outside of the South. In 1925 over 40,000 robed Klansmen and women paraded down Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, D. C. waving Confederate and American flags. Many local state and federal officials were elected because of Klan support or were defeated because they did not support the Klan. The Klan sought to strengthen segregation, to intimidate blacks and their supporters and to foster anti-Negro violence.

When the Southern blacks moved North they brought with them their church.

Blacks began to go into business and these businessmen began to prosper. B. T. Washington formed an organization for these new businessmen.

As blacks became more discouraged at the snail's pace of progress and the increasing of violence; they began looking for new answers to their problems.

The National Urban League, founded in 1911 by a group of conservative black leaders and Northern philanthropists and social workers. They wanted to help blacks through gradual change. The League's slogans were "Jobs at all levels," "Vocational Guidance," "better housing," "education and good citizenship."

Marcus Garvey advocated that blacks could obtain justice only by separating from American society and migrating to Africa. He formed the (UNIA) Universal Negro Improvement Association at the age of 27 in his home Island of Jamaica in 1914. When he came to Harlem two years later he expanded his movement and organized the paper, "The Negro World," and a chain of UNIA groceries and laundries.

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He conceived an African church, an African army, and he started the Black Star Shipping Line. He claimed 4,000,000 members in his organization. He gave hope to millions of blacks by emphasizing the glories of Africa's past and black pride. He traveled to 38 states speaking to blacks, met secretly with the KKK and had no especial love for light skinned blacks. Garvey scorned and was scorned by the "established" Negro leaders. Garvey was charged with using the mails to defraud in connection with his bankrupt Black Star Shipping Line. In 1923 he was convicted and sentenced to five years in federal prison. Before his term was completed he was deported to Jamaica.

The Socialists viewed the problems as economic rather than racial and geared their program to organizing black workers.

The Communists carefully watched the Socialist and became involved in the Scottsboro case of the 1930's.

During the 1920's Harlem birthed a movement known as the Harlem or Black Renaissance. It had a lasting impact on white America. Black musicians, artists, writers, poets, intellectuals and others with talent flocked to Harlem to give birth to their ideas and to express black culture. Men and women such as Alain Locke, a Harvard PhD and former Rhodes scholar; Claude McKay, Jean Toomer, Jessie Fauset, James Weldon Johnson, Langston Hughes, Countee Cullen, W. C. Hardy, Louis Armstrong, Bessie Smith, "Ma" Rainey, Mamie Smith, Cab Calloway, Duke Ellington, Jimmie Lunceford and countless others developed the Harlem Renaissance and allowed whites in America and around the world to see and begin to understand some of the black American's heritage.

And then the market fell; however, most blacks would not have known what you were talking about if you told them that, but the results--well they felt those. The determination of many Americans and all blacks were sorely tested during the great misery, the Great Depression. Blacks had been no better off in 1930 than they were in 1900 and the depression made most of them, especially urban blacks worse off. Of course, blacks were the poorest of the poor, and even in starvation there was discrimination! Blacks were discriminated against in welfare payments, refused public relief work and even barred from free food at soup kitchens. 38% of blacks and 17% of whites are known to be unable to support themselves and lived by welfare handouts. Even in government there was considerable prejudice in federal job programs, and very few blacks were given a chance at skilled or white collar job. Even though President Hoover was not totally responsible, he stood very little chance to gain reelection and many blacks, who were traditionally Republican, began shifting to the Democratic Party and to F. D. Roosevelt. In spite of the Democratic record blacks did and still remain basically opposed to the Republican Party and its rather conservative attitude and its desire to let states handle their own affairs with little or no federal government control.

Since most blacks still depended on agriculture for their sole source of income and even before the depression barely survived, to raise the price of farm products during the Depression, the federal government authorized a reduction in the acreage of basic crops, such as tobacco and cotton, which were among the major crops of the South. With the government paying the landowners to reduce their acreage, many white planters did not hesitate to evict sharecroppers and tenants and fieldhands. This also put the owners in far better position to demand whatever they wanted. This seriously affected sharecroppers and forced them to organize the Southern Tenant Farmers Union in 1934. This organization tried unsuccessfully to combat the eviction of farmers and to make sure government money was received by its members. Yet the welfare and job programs of President F. D. Roosevelt's New Deal saved many black and white farmers from disaster. In 1936 F. D. R. said, "As far as it is humanly possible, the Government followed the policy that among American citizens there should be no forgotten man and no forgotten races."

Even though the New Deal never fully succeeded in gaining civil rights for blacks, it did lay the groundwork for many later gains. Although the CCC--Civilian Conservation Corps--was strictly segregated they did a lot of work in teaching the black youth skills, assisting them to continue their formal education and giving them opportunities for employment.

Becoming more international minded blacks could not understand why white Americans drew a distinction between the Nazi ideology of Aryan supremacy and the American ideology of white supremacy when Hitler began his drive for power.

In 1940, 90 percent of the industries were hiring no blacks and the 10 percent which were hired were used in unskilled and low-paying jobs. President Roosevelt, preoccupied with the defense effort, did not enforce anti-discrimination policies already established by the federal government. This forced A. Philip Randolph to begin talking about 100,000 blacks marching on Washington on 1 July 1941 to demand an end to job discrimination. Because he wanted no embarrassing demonstrations for the world to see the President summoned Randolph and other black leaders to the White House hoping to convince them to call the march off. Randolph refused to come and said the march would go on unless discrimination was prohibited in the defense program. Mr. Roosevelt held out a week before yielding, he then issued an order banning discrimination in all future defense contracts. He followed this up by ordering an end to discrimination in the job training programs and federal employment, and setting up a Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC) to enforce the order.

"Back from their days of danger daring,
Over the leagues of foam,
Back from the scenes of their far wayfaring
Our dusky boys come home."

So, they chanted when the boys who had gone over there came home. And they had not forgotten their high expectations which had been dashed after the World War had been ended. The "boys" began to go "over there" again and at home things began to be gratifying beyond expectations. Negroes, particularly women, were brought into government service in mounting numbers, and employment steadily improved for men.

In 1940, there were 13,200 blacks in the Army and 4,000 in the Navy. In October the War Department announced two guiding principles concerning Negroes: (1) "Colored and white soldiers would not be intermingled" and (2) "the proportion to be enlisted would correspond to their population." The day after Pearl Harbor a group of Negro editors met with War Department officials and urged them to create a mixed volunteer division; it was perhaps given much careful and detailed thought as it was not formally rejected until September 1943. Because of the great need for Negro officers to command the Negro troops, the Army had to assign Negro officer candidates to the same schools and classes as whites. Women began to train together in 1942. A flying school for blacks was established at Tuskegee Institute in July 1941, eight months later five received their wings. By the end of the year 43 had their wings and a second and larger group were in training.

The Navy enlisted blacks only as messmen. At Pearl Harbor a black messman, Dorie Miller, on a battleship under attack saved his dying captain and manned a machinegun and shot down at least four Japanese warplanes. Admiral Chester W. Nimitz later awarded Miller the Navy Cross. Later the Navy began movement toward integration. This movement was brought about largely because of the enthusiastic behavior of the Negro Navymen and the influence of a few white officers who wanted to give the black sailor a chance. They had seen them leave the messrooms and perform as first class gunners without any formal training, evidencing great daring in handling ammunition and serving on ammunition ships. The Port Chicago Affair also went a long way to point up the injustices blacks had to endure. Several bold experiments were conducted but for the average black sailor there was not much change until 1947.

There were several outbreaks in Northern cities during the war but because employment and housing conditions were slowly improving, no major outbreaks occurred. Both the home front and the service Negro were hopeful that at the war's end America would be a better place for them to live.

Comparing this period with World War I, less discrimination is apparent due in great measure to the outstanding performance under the very worst of conditions of the black American fighting men. After March of 1944 the Navy and Coast Guard ended the restrictions on blacks allowing them in regular combat roles and accepting blacks as officers; the Marine Corps had begun accepting blacks as enlisted men in 1942. The Army had set up interracial units during the push into Germany in 1945. But these changes were all prompted by military necessity.

But the U.S. Army refused the services of Colonel Charles Young, and refused to let black men serve as officers. Throughout the country black trainees were facing hostility from the white civilian population and official Jim Crow in the military. In 1917 at Houston, Texas a group of black soldiers were pulled from the streetcars and beaten. The men took guns from an army storage room and

marched on the local police station, a riot followed--several persons were killed. The Army went through the motion of a quick trial--13 black soldiers were hanged and 41 sentenced for life imprisonment--not a white came to trial! Spartanburg, South Carolina was another area of trouble. In such cases the Army made no efforts to protect the black soldiers and in fact implied that they should not protect themselves but accept whatever treatment the white citizen saw fit to inflict upon them.

In France white officers and NCO's prevented blacks from using local facilities and associating with white (French) women.

Privates Henry Johnson and Needham Roberts led units like the 92d Division, 93d Division, 369th Infantry Regiment, 371st Infantry Regiment and other all black units in showing the whites (Americans as well as German) how to fight.

During the war many blacks were able to get better-paying jobs and because of the manpower shortage more jobs were available to them. But this ended as suddenly as it began--when the war ended white men returned to claim their jobs. Thousands of blacks had migrated North to the land of promise, but this was a bitter-sweet experience. Although blacks had distinguished themselves in combat, and in spite of the fact that black troops had marched up New York's Fifth Avenue, they enjoyed a short welcome.

Many blacks were still leaving the South to the "Promised Land," and so alarmed were Southern businessmen by the exodus that they tried to halt it by all means; just as they had in earlier efforts of mass exodus by blacks. But this time they promised reforms to improve the Negro's life in the South. But Robert S. Abbott, publisher of the Chicago Defender warned blacks not to be taken in: "Turn a deaf ear to everybody. You see they are not lifting their laws to help you, are they? Have they stopped their Jim Crow cars? Will they give you a square deal in court yet? Once upon a time we permitted other people to think for us; today we are thinking and acting for ourselves with the result that our 'friends' are getting alarmed at our progress."

But up North whites resented black competition in politics and employment. Segregation in public places began increasing. The residential discrimination became sharper producing large black ghettos. Any white who even hinted of "social equality" was labelled "revolutionary," "trouble maker," "nigger lover" or "agitator" and violence was not outlawed if directed towards persons so labelled or the black.

Blacks also complained about the harassment by whites, especially white officers, and the very inferior quality of facilities for blacks in recreation and housing on and near military posts.

Yet blacks distinguished themselves and kept the faith in the country and blacks at home joined to "keep the home fires burning."

The war time employment picture in the North served to bring many blacks North. Again, the cities strained with the thousands of new arrivals and whites moved to newer areas while making only the oldest sections of the cities available to the newly arriving blacks.

In 1943 serious racial (anti-black) riots swept the country--the worst being in Chicago in June of 1943. After these riots, just as after the Red Summer of 1919, most large cities established an "interracial commission" to "study the roots of the problem" but most blacks failed to be impressed as the previous commissions failed to produce any significant improvements.

Throughout the war blacks had high expectations and they continued to fight Jim Crow but they rallied to fight the country's enemies and vowed to force the U.S. to rid itself of its racist tendencies once the war was over.

Blacks were surprised when President Truman expressed greater support than they expected from either he or former President Roosevelt.

Negroes showed a keen interest in the founding of the U.N. and several black observers were in attendance throughout its charter meeting Negroes were pleased with the provisions that required member states to pledge themselves to promote "respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion."

When the boys started returning home jobs became a most pressing concern for blacks, for they were being "laid off" in favor of returning whites. The war created an artificial climate in which gains could be made, but the nature of the emergency imposed conditions which could not be justified after 1945.

After World War II the civil rights movement began to rely more on massive public protest and less on getting Congress and state legislatures to provide legal protection for blacks. A. P. Randolph's proposed march on Washington showed the need for change to this direction. The USSR and the U.S., two "white" superpowers began to compete for influence over the newly independent nations of Africa and Asia, "non-white" countries. The civil rights issue was no longer a simple domestic issue but was one of international scope. The black nations of Africa, especially the newly independent ones, provided great inspiration to American black people. For the first time black Africans participated equally with whites from America and Europe. Mass appeal was great for the black American recently having fully participated in the war. Many servicemen had encountered discrimination abroad from fellow Americans only and now was again faced squarely with the situation at home.

In Truman's first message to Congress he supported an anti-lynch bill, an end to poll tax and permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission (the one set up in 1940 was temporary). When Congress, under Republican and Southern leadership, refused to pass these bills Truman acted on his own in December 1946 creating the President's Committee on Civil Rights to investigate violations and recommend improvements. The Committee is a report "To Secure These Rights." This document criticized the nation's failure to accelerate racial integration and called for Congressional actions. The Committee recommended a federal anti-lynch law, a fair voting law, an end to discrimination in interstate travel, an end to discrimination in D. C. a permanent FEPC and full integration in the U.S. Armed Forces. Again Congress refused to act! Truman again took action into his own hands and in 1948 he issued a Presidential order accomplishing some of these things. Even Roosevelt had not dared to go this far.

Black people were slowly getting themselves together. They placed great importance on education and white collar jobs. They tried in every way possible to become white--they knew only whites were making it, they wanted to make it so they had to become as white as possible.

Really not much real progress was made by blacks from 1901 through 1941 and from 1941 through 1947 progress was made at a snail's pace with a hard fight being fought for every inch gained. Yet, the Negro kept the faith and plugged away towards integration into the white man's society. Concentration was on getting an education so one would be prepared. Yet even after receiving an undergraduate degree one had to wait at a post office as a postman or mail clerk or at similar under-employment positions for an opportunity to be recognized and discovered.

Robert Weaver, a Harvard Ph.D. in Economics, became the first black cabinet member in 1963. Others served in President Roosevelt's "kitchen" or "Negro" cabinet along with Mrs. Mary Bethune.

There can be no doubt that these 46 years were very important for the 50's needed a New Black, a New Negro and the first years of the 1900's created that breed of individual.

Things were NOT separate but equal, this was a "pipe dream" for things were very separate and very unequal. Black Americans had dreamed that one day they would really and truly be Americans enjoying the rights, privileges and responsibilities that all others enjoy but during the first half century of the 1900's for the black man it was a dream denied more than anything else. The two major wars proved to the black man that the white man was no better than he under even the most severe conditions of combat. The Negro had proven to white America, the world, but most of all to himself that he was a man--no better but certainly no worse than any other man; but he had proven that before!

In 1947 the median income of wage and salary workers was: white male, \$2,357 and non-white, \$1,279; white female, \$1,269 and non-white \$432! In April CORE sent a group of Freedom Riders to the South. In 1947 Jackie Robinson became the first Negro to play on a major baseball team, also, John Hope Franklin's "From Slavery to Freedom" was published. In all some gains were made but it was nevertheless "A Dream Denied" because the black man in America was still not free in 1947.

America should not be condemned for having a race problem; if America is to be condemned, it should be for NOT dealing honestly with the problem!

Separate but Equal--Separate but very Unequal

If we must die, let it not be like hogs,
Hunted and penned in an inglorious spot,
While round us bark the mad and hungry dogs,
Making their mock of our accursed lot.
If we must die, O let us nobly die. . .

.

Though far outnumbered, let us show us brave,
And for their thousand blows deal one death blow!
What though before us lies the open grave?
Like men we'll face the murderous, cowardly pack
Pressed to the wall, dying but fighting back!

So, black America emerged in 1948 recalling what Mahatma Gandhi had told them in 1929.

"Let not the 12 million Negroes be ashamed of the fact that they are the grandchildren of slaves. There is no dishonor in being slaves. There is dishonor in being slave-owners. But let us not think of honor or dishonor in connection with the past. Let us realize that the future is with those who would be truthful, pure and loving. For, as the old wise men have said, truth ever is, untruth never was; love alone binds and truth and love accrue only to the humble."

In 1945 a group of blacks including Thurgood Marshall, Walter White and William Hastie met and decided that the time was right for an open frontal attack on America's system of segregation.

During the coming years at each opportunity they pressed the courts on the "separate but equal" doctrine.

Perhaps they reasoned that since the Supreme Court had been instrumental in taking away the rights of Negro's it should become one of the most important body used to restore those and other rights. The Dred Scott and the Plessy vs. Ferguson decisions were no doubt the two most important low points in American Negro history.

Over a period of years the Court had begun to change its attitude toward blacks. After World War II the Court had really begun to show empathy and understanding in the civil rights protest movement.

Meanwhile President Truman continued to work on behalf of the Negro. He put the executive branch behind the civil rights protest movements. However, some years later his interest cooled toward the civil rights movement because of the stiff and continual Congressional and general public opposition.

In Congress things remained pretty much as it had. Compromises detrimental to the Negro and the Southern seniority carried the day. Generally, Southern whites were dissatisfied with Truman. Angry Congressmen and lawyers formed the States' Rights Democratic Party--"Dixiecrats." They worked against Truman in 1948 under the leadership of Strom Thurmond of South Carolina. They failed to keep President Truman out of the White House but they were powerful enough in Congress to thwart the President's progressive legislative program in the area of civil rights. Many of these Dixiecrats returned to the Democratic Party when the Republicans gained the White House in 1956.

Segregation in the Armed Forces was banned in 1948. The conflict in Korea hastened integration in the armed services. Racially-mixed units fought side by side in the Korean hills with no sacrifice of military efficiency. Lee Nichols wrote about integrating the armed forces in Breakthrough on the Color Front, in which he said "white units showed little reaction when Negroes were sprinkled among their ranks. Some officers even reported heightened morale among their all-white units after Negroes

were added." A progress report dated 1 January 1955 from the Office of the Secretary of Defense titled "Integration in the Armed Services," bore out the conclusion of UP newsman Nichols: "Through evaluation of the battle-tested results to date indicates a marked increase in the overall combat effectiveness through integration."

Back on the Court Circuit the NAACP had won, in 1946, a major suit barring Jim Crow from public transportation. The Court forbade interstate busses from segregating Negroes on the grounds that it constituted an undue burden on interstate commerce. Weak, true but it was getting the job done. In 1948 the Court banned official support for restrictive covenants, these were agreements which kept Negroes, Jews and other minorities from buying houses in certain neighborhoods. NO, you can't legislate morality, can you?

But public education--after interracial marriage--was the most important factor in race relations in the civilian community. Segregation has been and still is the cornerstone to "second-class citizenship." In my mind there is citizenship or there is no citizenship, I cannot conceive of being a second-class anything--I am or I am not!

Segregation meant shorter class days, shorter school years, less qualified teachers, and inferior facilities for Negro schools and students. This was true North as well as South. The minds of young black folk were stunted purposefully and the vicious myth of black inferiority and inherent racial differences was continued. The NAACP concentrated its legal resources on the battle against the "separate but equal" educational doctrine. In 1938 the NAACP was successful when the Supreme Court ruled that Missouri failed to maintain equal school facilities for both races and were thus violating the Negro's right to equal education. In the late 40's the Court, with gentle prodding, began to imply that equality could not be measured solely in terms of bricks, classrooms, books and numbers of teachers. The NAACP slowly kept on the pressure without pushing too hard.

After winning several cases concerning segregated colleges, Thurgood Marshall told his associates, "We got these boys." The Sweatt vs. Painter case in Texas, expert testimony in courts by anthropologists, sociologists and psychologists that race was "an unreasonable classification" and three decisions handed down on 5 June 1950, all went a long way to destroy and undermine the legal structure of Separate but Equal which we all--especially blacks--recognized as separate but very unequal. (Sweatt case--the Court held that equality involved more than physical facilities. In the G. W. McLaurie case--the Court said that a Negro student, once admitted, cannot be segregated. In the Elmer W. Henderson case--the Court banned dining car segregation.)

Building on this base while taking advantage of the great contributions and gross inequality of the Negro, NAACP attorneys filed suits attacking segregation at the elementary and high school levels. Thurgood Marshall, the NAACP's chief legal counsel, argued simply that segregation itself is discrimination. He attacked the "separate but equal" doctrine by saying that "Slavery is perpetuated in these statutes." On Monday 17 May 1954 the United States Supreme Court handed down its epochal decision: "We cannot turn back the clock to 1868 when the (Fourteenth) Amendment was adopted, or even to 1896, when Plessy versus Ferguson was written. . . We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place." A year later, the Court ordered public school desegregation "with all deliberate speed."

In a unanimous decision written by the new Chief Justice Earl Warren of California, the Court said: "education is perhaps the most important function of the state. . . It is the very foundation of good citizenship. . . (and) a principle instrument in awakening the child to cultural values. . . The opportunity of an education. . . is a right which must be made available to all on EQUAL terms." The Court then asked itself "Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other tangible factors may be equal, (which findings had already proven were in fact not equal) deprive children of minority groups of equal educational opportunities?" They replied, "We believe that it does." So Plessy vs. Ferguson was rejected. ". . . In the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. . . Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

Although dealing only with public schools this decision had greater significance. So in May 1954 playgrounds, parks, transportation, housing, libraries, public accommodations and many other aspects of American life where Mr. Jim Crow was entrenched were brought under this ruling. Now every black became a civil rights crusader; the black mass movement was coming together.

Citizen's Councils were being formed to breathe defiance. Those "White-collar Ku Klux Klans" spread across the South, then the whole of the United States of America in 1954. According to Lerone Bennett, "the intellectual leader of the resistance was Tom Brady, a Yale-educated circuit judge in Mississippi. What did Brady think of the Supreme Court decision? The title of his book--Black Monday--left little to the imagination. According to Brady, the decision was a deep, dark plot which would lead to the 'holoblastic tragedy' of miscegenation. Oh, High Priest of Washington blow again and stronger upon the dying embers of racial hate. . . ." Brady spoke for much of white America, the Negro must remain separate for many reasons, sexual and economic, being two of the reasons. In 1954 sex being probably the most important. Protect that white woman, at all cost. Brady and his bunch did not purport to obey this decision. "We say to the Supreme Court and to the Northern World, You shall not make us drink from this cup. . . We have, through our forefathers, died before for our sacred principles. We can, if necessary, die again."

Young black boys and girls were reading the words of one of their great invincible bards who spoke to the long ago:

"The freat day is coming. . . We have crawled and pleaded for justice and we have been cheerfully spit upon and murdered and burned. We will not endure it forever. If we are to die, in God's name, let us perish like men and not like bales of hay."

Thurgood Marshall, knowing the Negro, had said after the 1954 Brown versus Board of Education decision, "We stand ready to work with other law-abiding citizens who are anxious to translate this decision into a program of action to eradicate racial segregation in public education as speedily as possible. . . ."

Separate but equal in theory was separate but very unequal in fact. Years later the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (The Kerner Commission) reported:

"This is our basic conclusion: Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white--separate and unequal--What white Americans have never fully understood--but what the Negro can never forget--is that white society is *deeply implicated in the ghetto*. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it."

By this time the Negro--who did not know his past and wanted to prove his worth and ability--had pushed his way into America. Men like Dr. Ernest E. Just, a pioneer in Marine Biology; Dr. Charles Drew, inventory of blood plasma; Adam C. Powell, Congressman; S. B. Fuller, a Chicago manufacturer; C. C. Spaulding, America's richest Negro; countless churchmen; Dr. Percy Julian, a leading chemist; Dr. David Williams, first to perform successful heart surgery; numerous educators; Dr. Carter G. Woodson, noted historian and father of Negro History Week; countless actors, writers and entertainers; and Jackie Robinson, the baseball player--men like these and others made their contribution and would not allow America not to see them. These were no longer the quiet shuffling colored man--they were Negro, black, proud and pushing.

By 1954 the colored man had died, the Negro was mortally wounded and the black man was being born. Birth is painful but recalling the work of Sterling Brown, the black boy has a source of inspiration to survive, to overcome, to take control.

They dragged you from your homeland,
They chained you in coffles,
They huddled you in spoon-fashion in filthy hatches,
They sold you to give a few gentlemen ease.

They broke you in like oxen
They scourged you,
They branded you,

You sang:

Keep a-inchin' along
Lak a po' inch worm. . .

You sang:

Walk togedder, chillen,
Dontcha git weary. . .
The strong men keep a-comin' on
The strong men git stronger

You sang:

Ain't no hummah
In dis lan'
Strikes lake mine, bebbby,
Strikes lak mine.

One thing they cannot prohibit -

The strong men. . . coming on
The strong men gittin' stronger,
Strong men. . .
STRONGER. . .

Yet the dying Negro and the being who was born black remembered Paul Laurence Dunbar's
Sympathy:

I know why the caged bird sing, ah me,
When his wing is bruised and bosom sore, --
When he beats his bars and he would be free;
It is not a carol of joy or glee,
But a prayer that he sends from his heart's deep core,
But a plea, that upward to Heaven he flings ---
I know why the caged bird sings!

So, then did every man of color in America in 1954 know, for America was racially separate and very unequal.

The Negro, a very familiar figure on the American scene, was dying, giving way to a new breed of man. Some called them "young turks," others called them the "New Negro," many called them "Afro-Americans," while others used the terms "militant," "radical," or "revolutionary,"--in fact we were seeing the birth of the black man in America. Melvin Tolson spoke of him thus:

Dark Symphone / Melvin B. Tolson

Black Crispus Attucks taught
Us how to die
Before white Patrick Henry's bugle breath
Uttered the vertical
Transmitting cry:
"Yea, give me liberty, or give me death."

And from that day to this
Men black and strong
For Justice and Democracy have stood,
Steeled in the faith that Right
Will conquer Wrong
And Time will usher in one brotherhood.

No Banquo's ghost can rise
Against us now
And say we crushed men with a tyrant's boot
Or pressed the crown of thorns
On Labor's brow
Or ravaged lands and carted off the loot.

The centuries -- old pathos in our voices
Saddens the great white world,
And the wizardry of our dusky rhythms
Conjures up shadow-shapes of ante-bellum years:

Black slaves singing ONE MORE RIVER TO CROSS
In the torture tombs of slave ships,
Black slaves singing STEAL AWAY TO JESUS
In jungle swamps
Black slaves singing THE CRUCIFIXION
In slave pens at midnight
Black slaves singing SWING LOW, SWEET CHARIOT
In cabins of death,
Black slaves singing GO DOWN, MOSES
In the canebrakes of the Southern Pharaohs.

They tell us to forget
The Golgotha we tread. . .
We who are scourged with hate,
A price upon our head.
They who have shackled us
Require of us a song,
They who have wasted us
Bid us o'erlook the wrong.

They tell us to forget
Democracy is spurned.
They tell us to forget
The Bill of Rights is burned.
Three hundred years we slaved,
We slave and suffer yet
Though flesh and bone rebel,
They tell us to forget!

Oh, how can we forget
Our human rights denied?
Oh, how can we forget
Our manhood crucified?
When Justice is profaned
And plea with curse is met,
When Freedom's gates are barred,
Oh, how can we forget?

The New Negro strides upon the continent
In seven league boots. . .
The New Negro
Who sprang from the vigor-stout loins
Of Nat Turner, gallows-martyr for Freedom,
Of Joseph Cinquez, Black Moses of the Amistad Mutiny,
Of Fredrick Douglass, oracle of the Catholic Man,
Of Sojourner Truth, eye and ear of Lincoln's legions,
Of Harriet Tubman, St. Bernard of the Underground
Railroad.

None in the Land can say
To us black men Today:
You send the tractors on their bloody path,
And create Oakies for THE GRAPES OF WRATH
You breed the slum that breeds a NATIVE SON
To damn the good earth Pilgrim Fathers won.

None in the Land can say
To us black men Today:
You dupe the poor with rags-to-riches tales,
And leave the workers empty dinner pails.
You stuff the ballot box, and honest men
Are muzzled by your demagogic din.

None in the Land can say
To us black men Today:
You smash stock markets with your coined blitzkreigs
And make a hundred million guinea pigs.
You counterfeit our Christianity,
And bring contempt upon Democracy.

None in the Land can say
To us black men Today:
You prowl when citizens are fast asleep,
And hatch Fifth Column plots to blast the deep
Foundations of the State and leave the Land
A vast Sahara with a Fascist brand.

None in the Land can say
To us black men Today:
You send flame-gutting tanks, like swarms of flies,
And plump a hell from dynamiting skies
You fill machine-gunned towns with rotting dead --
A No-Man's Land where children cry for bread.

Out of abysses of Illiteracy,
Through labyrinths of Lies,
Across wastelands of Disease. . .
We advance!

Out of dead-ends of Poverty,
Through wildernesses of Superstition,
Across barricades of Jim Crowism. . .
We advance!

With the People of the World. . .
We advance!

But a Southern Senator spoke for the South and much of white America when he said: ". . . the white people of the South will not accept these interferences. We are proud of our section. We know what is best for the white people and the colored people. We are going to treat the Negro fairly, but in doing so, we do not intend for him to take over our election system or attend our white schools. Regardless to any Supreme Court decisions and any laws that may be passed by Congress, we of the South will maintain our political and social institutions. . ." This was written by a Senator of the United States to the President of the United States.

So the die was cast. The years ahead could only hold friction, conflict and violence. Black Americans had tasted freedom, they had been convinced that it was theirs for the taking and they were tire of waiting--but white America by and large was not ready to let go and treat Negroes as equals--as human.

But in 1954 the black man was advancing, never to be turned around, never to be stopped. Proud of their black past, encouraged by their present unity and pleading to make the future a thing of promise "For My People" as Margaret Walker said:

For My People / Margaret Walker

For my people everywhere singing their slave songs repeatedly: their dirges and their ditties and their blues and jubilees, praying their prayers nightly to an unknown god, bending their knees humbly to an unseen power;

For my people lending their strength to the years; to the gone years and the now years and the maybe years, washing ironing cooking scrubbing sewing mending hoeing plowing digging planting pruning patching dragging along never gaining never reaping never knowing and never understanding.

For my playmates in the clay and dust and sand of Alabama backyards playing baptizing and preaching, and doctor and jail and soldier and school and mama and cooking and playhouse and concert and store and Miss Choomby and hair and company;

For the cramped bewildered years we went to school to learn to know the reasons why and the answers to and the people who and the places where and the days when, in memory of the bitter hours when we discovered we were black and poor and small and different and nobody wondered and nobody understood;

For the boys and girls who grew in spite of these things to be Man and Woman, to laugh and dance and sing and play and drink their wine and religion and success, to marry their playmates and bear children and then die of consumption and anemia and lynching;

For my people thronging 47th Street in Chicago and Lenox Avenue in New York and Rampart Street in New Orleans, lost disinherited dispossessed and HAPPY people filling the cabarets and taverns and other people's pockets needing bread and shoes and milk and land and money and Something--Something all our own;

For my people walking blindly, spreading joy, losing time being lazy, sleeping when hungry, shouting when burdened, drinking when hopeless, tied and shackled and tangled among ourselves by the unseen creatures who tower over us omnisciently and laugh;

For my people blundering and groping and floundering in the dark of churches and schools and clubs and societies, associations and councils and committees and conventions, distressed and disturbed and deceived and devoured by money-hungry glory-craving leeches, preyed on by facile force of state and fad and novelty by false prophet and holy believer;

For my people standing staring trying to fashion a better way from confusion from hypocrisy and misunderstanding, trying to fashion a world that will hold all the people all the faces all the adams and eves and their countless generations;

Let a new earth rise. Let another world be born. Let a bloody peace be written in the sky. Let a second generation full of courage issue forth, let a people loving freedom come to growth, let a beauty full of healing and a strength of final clenching be the pulsing in our spirits and our blood. Let the martial songs be written, let the dirges disappear. Let a race of men now rise and take control!

In 1954 a race of men--black men--had arisen and the future belonged to them and theirs. In 1954 separate but very unequal was fact but a new breed of black men were moving America "With All Deliberate Speed" towards a dream verbalized years later by a black man of love, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.:

"I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal.' I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave-owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood. . . This is our hope. This is the faith with which I return to the South. . . With this faith, we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day.

"This will be the day when all of God's children will be able to sing with new meaning, 'My country 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing. Land where my fathers died, land of the Pilgrim's pride, from every mountain side, let freedom ring.'

"And if America is to be a great nation this must become true. So let freedom ring from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire. Let freedom ring from the mighty mountains of New York. Let freedom ring from the heightening Alleghenies of Pennsylvania! Let freedom ring from the snow-capped Rockies of Colorado. "Let freedom ring from the curvaceous peaks of California! "But not only that; let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia! "Let freedom ring from every hill and mole hill of Mississippi. From every mountainside, let freedom ring. When we let freedom ring, when we let it ring from every village and hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of that old Negro spiritual: 'Free at last! Free at last! Thank God Almighty, we are free at last.'"

In the immortalized words of another great American, Robert F. Kennedy, "Some men see things as they are and say, why. I dream things that never were and say, why not." The black man all over America is asking the same question--why not? WHY? After 335 years in America, building and making America great, WHY NOT?

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The Negro in the Civil War
Reconstruction and the Freed Man
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Another View
From Race Riots to Sit-ins

AMERICA WAS NEVER AMERICA TO ME

In 1971 an American fighting man could deliver the following speech about his people and his country with conviction, for in spite of 352 years in this country each black man, woman, and child could say for themselves and their foreparents -

"AMERICA WAS NEVER AMERICA TO ME"

.....As I walked down the narrow winding roadway I was very aware of the evenly placed headstones and the green green grass. The sun was shining, and a warm lazy breeze was blowing. It was a nice day to take a walk in the sun. My mind went briefly to the brave young men lying beneath me in that cold dark sod. I was daydreaming when I heard the volley of rifle fire; then there was Taps. I headed toward the sounds. Down the hill a few feet from me I could see a flag being handed to a woman. Four small children huddled close to her, as if for protection. The military men moved about with polished precision. I turned to leave them to their task of burying the dead. I walked slowly back up the small hill, but the funeral party was now making its way to their transportation. Then, a young Black woman clinging tightly to her flag slowed as she passed me. I turned and walked down the roadway. The cars moved past me and I turned to face them. There was her swollen, tear-stained face peering out at me. Those big eyes were questioning--as if asking, almost in anger, "Why do you Black men fight and die trying to protect others and give them freedom, liberty, justice and peace--when your wives and children do not have it?" I could find no answer. My mouth was dry. The sun became unbearable. The warm breeze stopped blowing and the humidity rose suddenly. The sweat ran into my eyes. I was tired of walking. My tongue seemed to swell and fill my mouth. I was thirsty. I walked down the winding road over the low rolling valleys, and noticed the many freshly dug graves for the first time. How many Black men were buried here? My mind drifted off to Viet Nam and some of the Black men I'd known who never made it back, or who came back blinded, crippled, limbless--to go back into the bottomless pit of the big city ghettos. I still could find no answer--but I reasoned--True, America has never been America to me. I have never had equal opportunities in education, in housing, in employment. All that the Black men have in America is plenty of nothing. We have never been free! We have been and are tied to the ghetto, to ignorance, to unemployment, to under-employment, to the general lack of opportunity. No, America never has been America to me, and because "my mouth is wide with laughter and my throat is deep with song, you think I do not suffer after I have held my pain so long. Because my mouth is wide with laughter you do not hear my inner cry. Because my feet are gay with dancing you do not know - or care - that I die."

Yet, America pleaded to others - of white skin - "send me your tired, your poor, your lonely masses yearning to breathe free. Send these your lowly tossed homeless to me." But we were here. Building and making America great. We were here, tired of hundreds of years of slavery and de-humanization. We were here poor, but no forty acres and a mule for us. We were here, but no subsidies for us, only the welfare handout to keep us begging. We were here lonely, totally segregated and relegated second class citizenship, and treated as beasts of burden. We were here yearning, begging, pleading, fighting and dying to be free. We, too, were homeless--for Africa was our home, but we were cruelly snatched from her by force. We were here without a country. So, we built one. Yes, we built America by toiling in the cotton fields, on the docks, on the plantation, in the big houses from sun up to sun down seven days a week. We built America, with our broad shoulders, with our black hands, with our blood we have earned every privilege we enjoy, with our tears we have watered this land a hundred times over. With our sweat we have replenished the rivers--yes, we built America! It is our home. Yet, I still hear the Black man pleading, "Grant me that I am human, that I hurt, that I can cry. Not that I ask alms in shame gone hallow, nor that I cringe outside the loud and sumptuous gate. Just grant me that I am human, that I hurt, that I cry. Admit me to our mutual estate. Open my rooms, let in the light, the air, the sun." I am human. I hurt. I cry.

This is my country. I have a stake in it. My legacy is tied up in the history of the Black man in America.

We will not leave it nor destroy it.

Yet, I, too, am granted the right to disagree, to protest, to wish for a better life.

Does not our Declaration of Independence say: "All men are created equal?"

Does it not say: "All men have certain inalienable rights?"

I have a right, a duty, to fight if not in Viet Nam, surely on the streets of America for those rights. For, this is my country and though America never was America to me, I have too much invested in it to see it fail, to see it destroyed, to see it become a lie and not attempt to live up to its lofty ideals.

No, America has never been America to me. But America will be. I say it loud and plain.

America never was America to me and yet I swear this oath: America will be.

Written and delivered by Grant B. Williams, Jr.,
in a University of Maryland speech contest.

A MAN NAMED KING

It is very fitting that we pause today. That we pause and honor a man named King.

Martin Luther King, Jr., was born January 15, 1929 in Atlanta, Georgia and he died on April 4, 1968 in Memphis, Tennessee. He earned academic degrees from Morehouse College, Crozer Theological Seminary and Boston University. He pastored two churches, he wrote several books, he did many things to improve the condition and conscience of mankind. But that short chubby man, his roundish face and boyish grin, with his sharp intellect, and mentality of a sophisticated prophet, that man possessed with that sweet musical voice that boomed like a hollow drum--is not remembered for those things. He is remembered for his great and unending capacity to love.

The world will never be the same because Dr. King lived. Because he touched people's lives, he quickened people's steps, he pricked the conscience of mankind, because he lived and he loved. He loved all mankind--Black and White, Jew and Gentile, Protestant and Catholic. And we all should be better people because he lived--here in America.

I'm talking about a man who died before his time. He was a black man and in this nation he was supposed to die before his time--since black men on an average die seven years earlier than whites--but, I mean he died even before then.

I'm talking about the man who wrote from the Birmingham jail:

"I am in Birmingham because injustice is here . . . I am cognizant of the interrelatedness of all communities . . . I cannot sit idly by in Atlanta and not be concerned about what happens in Birmingham . . . we are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny, whatever affects one directly, affects all indirectly. Never again can we afford to live with the narrow, outside agitator idea."

And because he did not agree with that outside agitator idea, he was involved with mankind because he saw himself as a part of mankind, and when Mrs. Rosa Parks said, "I'm tired," when Mrs. Rosa Parks refused to move to the back of the bus and was arrested, that man, Dr. King, said to his people:

"If we are arrested every day, if we are exploited every day, don't ever let anyone pull you so low as to hate them."

This man was an apostle of love. To the angry whites in Montgomery he was able to say, after being beaten, spat upon, chased by police on horseback swinging axe handles, after being chased by dogs and battered by angry mobs--this man was able to say:

"We will match your capacity to inflict suffering with our capacity to endure suffering. We will meet your physical force with soul force. We will not hate you . . . We will soon wear you down by our capacity to suffer, and in winning our freedom we will so appeal to your heart and conscience that we will win you in the process."

And to his followers he said:

"I can't promise you that it won't get you beaten. I can't promise you that it won't get your house bombed. I can't promise you won't get scarred up a bit. But we must stand up for what is right."

Dr. King wanted freedom now. But, being a realist he knew that difficult days were ahead. He told his liberal white friends who encouraged waiting and going slow:

"I guess it's easy for those who have never felt the stinging darts of segregation to say wait--but when you are forever fighting a degenerating sense of nobodiness-- then you will understand why we find it difficult to wait."

He found it difficult to wait because he found time neutral. And today, time is still neutral. We must seize the time and put it to work for us.

America's black people have been patient. They have trusted. They have been faithful. They have even been loving, while the country has systematically exploited and denied them. Far too few of America's white people have realized that the destiny of America will be determined in large measure by America's attitude and behavior toward her oppressed people of color.

This great land must be true to itself if it is to survive. Racism, both personal and institutional, must be eliminated--and white Americans must do this. For, as the Kerner Commission Report said, "What white Americans have never fully understood--but what the Negro can never forget--is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it."

It is time for white Americans to stand up. It is time for all of us to accept our responsibilities as Americans. It is time for you to do your duty as a man. It is your obligation as a child of God--to treat all men as brothers.

If we are a Christian nation--and we claim to be--we must live like Christians. The man we honor today was a Christian. That is why he was so critical of America. For America claims to be a Christian nation.

Dr. King was a man of love because Jesus Christ said Christians should be known by their love. As he had a "job to do"--so do we and it is time that we are about our Father's business.

Martin Luther King went so much. He spoke so often. He was so very busy because he had a job to do--he had to try to instill the idea of the brotherhood of man into the minds of men.

He did not finish that job--but he started.

But, this man is not great just because of the things I've mentioned.

Dr. King is great because he was a good speaker--

But that wasn't his greatest greatness--

He is great because he won a Nobel Peace Prize--

But that wasn't his greatest greatness--

Dr. King is great because he unified black people--

But that wasn't his greatest greatness--

His greatest greatness was that he was out front--

He was Drum Major--

He was a drum major for justice--

He was drum major for brotherhood--

He was a drum major for righteousness !!!!!!!!!!!!!

His greatest greatness was that he LOVED somebody. Because he tried to feed the hungry. He tried to clothe the naked, comfort the widow, and protect the fatherless.

He was a drum major--

He was a drum major because he cheered somebody.

He was a drum major because he did his duty as a Christian should.

His greatest greatness was that he was a drum major--

A DRUM MAJOR FOR LOVE !!!!!!!!!!!!!!!

Again, I say it is fitting and proper that we pause to honor this great man--but not only to do that, but to also respond to the challenge laid before us.

Paraphrasing John McCrae's "In Flanders Fields" I say:

Let us then take up the quarrel with the foe--for to us from falling hands he threw the torch !!!!
It is ours to hold high, for if we break the faith with him and those who sleep--they and he will have died in vain. Let him sleep in peace. Let his living not have been in vain. Let us remember he had a dream !!!!!!!!!!!!!

We mourn the man. We cherish the dream. We accept the challenge--and we shall overcome
!!!!!!!!!!!!

Delivered at Patrick AFB FL Chapel
by Grant B. Williams, Jr.,
15 January 1972

LA RAZA

CHICANO PUERTORRIQUENO

MESTIZO

LATINO

MEJICANO

AMERICANO

HISPANO ESPANOLE

PREFACE

Literally translated, "La Raza" means "The Race." However, it cannot be identified as such and restricted to this definition. The concept of "La Raza" is a philosophy of life and is strongly identified with by Latinos. BASICALLY, THIS PHILOSOPHY IS: "THAT ALL LATINOS ARE UNITED BY CULTURAL AND SPIRITUAL BONDS AND HAVE A COSMIC DESTINY." The spiritual aspect is perhaps more important than the cultural. The Latino recognizes regional variations in behavior and realizes that customs change.

Under the concept of La Raza, Puertorriquenos and Chicanos have enjoyed a brotherly bond extending prior to the settlement of what is now called the United States. Beginning as early as 1500, Mejico and Puerto Rico had begun a development of economic and social interaction. This economic, social, and cultural relationship has continued and developed through the Twentieth Century. Large numbers of Puertorriquenos have attended the University of Mejico and many distinguished Mejicanos and Chicanos have taught and contributed to the academic community in Puerto Rico.

Over the centuries the level of "La Raza" awareness increased the bond among Latinos. This is most noted in the development of joint organizations committed to the furtherance of the philosophy of La Raza.

The Chicanos and Puertorriqueno movements are not of recent development. Their thrust at racism extends back into the early development of the Americas. The forms and methods of repression may have changed, as well as the oppressor, but the "La Raza" opposition to racial and cultural discrimination has not wavered.

We hope that as you move through the block of "La Raza" studies, you will become aware of this important historical fact.

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IT'S THE DECENT PEOPLE VS THE RIPOFFS, IN AND OUT OF UNIFORM

By Piri Thomas

Author of "Down These Mean Streets," an autobiography about growing up in Spanish Harlem, and the new "Savior, Savior, Hold My Hand."

All my life in one way or the other I've lived in the Ghetto and ever since I can remember there was always some sort of violence going on — fights, muggings, purse-snatching, rapes, junkies and junk-pimps, faggots and prostitutes--and to enhance the ghetto world of violence around me, to help bring out its message of fear, hopelessness and despair was the embellishment of hot and cold running cockroaches and king-size rats, of exploitation beyond compare, of pride and prejudice. But lest the people in the pretty Pleasantville suburbs think that we of the ghetto dig violence and crime let it be known that the criminal element represents a comparatively small percentage of the total community. All the drugs that have been poured into our community by outside vested, organized interests have of course augmented the ripoffs by the junkies against the community via purse-snatching, burglaries, etc. But like, diggit, who brought hard-core drugs into our communities? It wasn't blacks or Puerto Ricans. It was another ethnic group that poured poison into our kids, and like I ought to know, having been a junkie myself a million years ago. I'd see the Lincoln Continentals cruise by and the big-time pusher's face was stone white and like he didn't have no Puerto Rican or black accent.

We are talking about violence. Well, this is part of what breeds it. But like what bugs me is that in the struggle of the greater part of the ghetto people for our right to justice, equality, dignity, for our right to first-class citizenship, we're being infiltrated by many who are out to fill their own bag, and under the guise of brotherhood, the cause, civil rights, these people have ripped off much bread from the community. Others don't bother to name a cause. It's just out-and-out robbery, stomping, slashing, cutting, mugging, raping, like sucking the blood of the helpless innocents of their own ghetto communities and other communities. Except that in nicer communities, you call the police and zap, you got a friend indeed in your hour of need. In ghetto communities, you call the police and most of the time you better pray indeed in your hour of need.

I remember one time some years back looking out my window in Brooklyn, Bushwick section of Williamsburg. It was about 9:30 at night. There were about four or five white cats doing a number on (beating hell out of) a Puerto Rican near a candy store, and like they were doing their best to make him part of the sidewalk scene. I picked up the phone and dialed the police. A voice answered and I explained the situation: "Someone is getting killed." The voice on the other end (so help me, God) sounded bored as he asked, "Are the colored or Puerto Rican?" Diggit, my mind spun with the reality of his words. I asked him what did that matter. In the same bored tone, he said he'd like to know. I threw a look out the window at the Puerto Rican who was making those four or five white guys tired from beating on him and told the bored voice on the other end, "My God, those Puerto Ricans are practically killing that poor little white guy!" And zap, some split minutes later up the whole street was jumping with P. D. cars and light cavalry.

What I am saying is that our people in the ghetto complain to the police on crime, graft, drugs and like nothing happens. They get ripped off by those who prey on them and nothing happens. It is hard for a community to place trust in policemen who they see constantly on the make, taking bribes or monthly payoffs from known criminals, pushers of heroin and cocaine who have more than drug and crime connections. They get guaranteed police protection by renegade cops--the pity being that these ripoff cops make it hard on the good guys. But, like, ain't that like always?

In the ghettos are decent law-abiding citizens, regardless of race, creed or color, who despise the criminal element but are helpless, made more so by their unfortunate lack of confidence in the police (not unearned) and the growth of confidence on the part of the criminal elements who sense the helplessness of both police and community and rip away. We of the ghetto are definitely for law and order. We are against a criminal element which when arrested cries out, "Racism, bigotry." We want to raise our children as any other decent parents would like to. We want to walk the streets without having to grow eyes in the back of our heads and the burden of having jumped paranoid. We

want law and order, but it must be a law and order that is just and equal for all Americans no matter what their color or language may be. So help me, if the decent members of the communities and the decent law-enforcement people get together, the ripoffs in our society, both in and out of uniform, will have as much chance of scavenging on our society as a snowball in hell.

The ghettos and all the horrible conditions they breed are the problem, and the decent people who live there are desperately trying to be the solution to it. Together now--.

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Major Ethnic Origin Groups
(Persons 25 Years Old and Over)

Years of School Completed by %

	HIGH SCHOOL		COLLEGE
	<u>Less Than 4 Years HS</u>	<u>4 Years HS or More</u>	<u>4 Years or More</u>
Russian	30.9	69.1	22.9
English	39.8	60.2	14.4
Irish	44.7	55.3	10.2
Italian	54.3	45.7	7.0
Polish	49.1	50.9	8.8
German	42.4	57.6	10.5
Chicano	75.6	24.4	1.6
Puerto Rican	77.8	22.0	2.4
National Average	44.8	55.2	11.0

NOTE: No Statistics Reported for Blacks

SOURCE: Bureau of the Census

From the New York Times, 8 Dec 71

MINORITIES SCORE SCHOOLS IN SOUTHWEST

The United States Commission on Civil Rights declared today that minority group students in five Southwestern states were receiving an inferior education.

In a 100-page report, the commission painted a bleak picture of the education of Mexican-Americans, Blacks and Indians in these states as measured by such yardsticks as reading skills and dropout rates.

At a news conference, the acting director of the commission, John Buggs, said that the report showed that "schools in the Southwest are failing in their responsibility to educate minority children adequately."

The basic finding of the report, in official language, is that the minority students "do not obtain the benefits of public education at a rate equal to that of their Anglo classmates."

The second of seven in a series on the education of Mexican-Americans, the report offered no comparative data to show whether the trend was improving or deteriorating in the light of increased Federal assistance to minority students.

However, its sponsors called the report one of the most comprehensive yet prepared on education in the Southwest. It covers 532 school districts in Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico and Texas.

Perhaps the most significant implications of the report deal with the projections for the educational future of the estimated total 2.3 of million minority students in the Southwest in 1970.

For example, it says, if the present school dropout rates in California fail to improve, more than one of every three Mexican-American students in grades one through six -- that is, 120,000 out of 330,000 -- will fail to graduate from high school.

For blacks, the corresponding figures would be 60,000 dropout out of an elementary school enrollment of 190,000, the report predicts. "This represents a staggering loss of potentially well-educated and productive manpower," it says.

The report, entitled "The Unfinished Education," focuses on five measures of educational quality -- reading skills, dropout rates, grade repetition, overageness and participation in extracurricular activity.

Age-Grade Relation

Overageness refers to the relationship between a student's age and grade level, and is closely tied to grade repetition.

Mr. Buggs said that no recommendations for improvement would be offered until the commission made its final report in the series a year from now. Today's report neither makes recommendations nor suggests why the status quo is so poor.

However, a forthcoming report in the series, due in February, concludes that "the schools (in the Southwest) use a variety of exclusionary practices which deny the Chicano student the use of his language, a pride in his heritage, and the support of his community."

Both reports use the word Chicano as a synonym for Mexican-American.

The February report, which is still unpublished, lists several courses in which it says school districts with Chicano students are lagging. They include:

Language. The report states that "suppression" and "strict repressive measures" are applied to enforce a ban on the use of the Spanish language. It criticizes schools for failure to establish bilingual education programs.

History. The report says that fewer than 10 percent of the schools in the Southwest offer courses in Mexican-American history, and in some cases use textbooks with "an inexcusable Anglo-American bias."

The report issued today estimates that out of every 100 Mexican-Americans who enter first grade in the survey area, only 60 graduate from high school.

Only 67 of every 100 Negro first-graders graduate from high school, the report states, but the figure is 86 out of 100 for "Anglos" -- white persons who are not Mexican-American or members of some other Spanish-surnamed group.

In a statement, Mr. Buggs described California as "the best in a group of losers." Texas, on the other hand, was described as the worst.

Almost half of the Mexican-Americans included in the Texas survey, or 47 percent, drop out before they finish high school. This compares with 19 percent in Arizona, 36 percent in California, 33 percent in Colorado and 20 percent in New Mexico.

Of the five states California schools in the survey have the highest rate of minority graduates entering colleges -- 51 out of every 100 Negro high school graduates and 44 out of every 100 Mexican-American graduate.

CHICANO STUDENTS CALLED OPPRESSED

Rights Panel Issues Report on Schools of 5 States

By Wallace Turner

Special to The New York Times

SAN FRANCISCO, May 2 -- The United States Commission on Civil Rights charged today that Mexican-American pupils were being oppressed in the schools of five states.

The commission issued a report based on a study of the public schools of Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico and Texas. There are 1.4 million Chicanos, or Spanish-Americans, in those schools and they make up about 17 percent of total enrollment.

"The schools use a variety of exclusionary practices which deny the Chicano student the use of his language, a pride in his heritage, and the support of his community," the report charged.

Manuel Ruiz, a Los Angeles lawyer and member of the commission, said at a news conference in the San Francisco Press Club today:

"Not only is the constitutional right of an individual to equal educational opportunity being violated by this process of exclusion, but the richest source of American strength is being diminished by ignoring the benefits of cultural pluralism."

Mr. Ruiz declared that educators must achieve "a more sophisticated understanding" of the problems that young Chicanos face when they come to the public schools.

3d Report in Series

The report is the third of a series of seven to be drawn from the commission's study of Mexican-American educational opportunity. Earlier reports said that Chicanos were isolated within the school system and had less educational opportunity, which led to lower achievement.

The report issued today said that suppression of the Spanish language was widespread.

About half of the Chicano first-graders come to school less fluent in English than are the Anglo first-graders they meet and work with there, the report said. When they attempt to express themselves in Spanish, it said, they are met with repressive devices that not only inhibit their ability to communicate their ideas and feelings but also subtly undermine their pride in their origins.

The Commission found that it was common for schools to punish students who spoke Spanish while at school.

The report notes school administrators' defense of such discipline. They say that the school exists to educate children for life, and that life in the United States is based on English as the universal language, so in school Chicano students must learn and use English.

BILINGUAL CLASSES URGED

Bilingual classes, using both Spanish and English and with both Anglo and Chicano pupils, were favored in the report, which found such classes rare.

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The commission also found an omission of Mexican-American heritage and folklore from the academic curriculum. "Even though two cultures co-exist in the Southwest, acculturation is essentially a one-way process in the schools," the report said.

The Chicanos, it said, must absorb the Anglo society entirely, while the Anglos pick and choose what they want from the Chicano background -- Spanish food and music and costumes, caballeros, and the mythical rancho life of early California.

The rights commission said one of the major weaknesses of the educational system of the Southwestern states was that the Mexican-American community did not take part in school affairs.

Again, language problems are largely responsible, the report said. How, it asked, can a Mexican-American who speaks English poorly follow and take part in a P.T.A. meeting conducted in English?

"Cultural exclusion is a reality in public schools of the Southwest," the report said. "Until practices and policies conducive to full participation of Mexican-Americans in the educational process are adopted, equal opportunity in education is likely to remain more myth than reality for Mexican-American students."

The commission is an independent agency created by Congress in 1957. It now is headed by the Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, president of the University of Notre Dame.

FROM The New York Times, 3 May 1972.

NATIONAL CHICANAS CONFERENCE

PREFACE

This paper should be used as informational material concerning the National Chicana Conference in Houston, Texas, which was held on May 28, 29, 30, 1971. It is the official report of the San Diego Chicanas who attended the conference. This paper if reprinted, must be printed in full; this request is made for the reason that partial use of this paper would give an incomplete view of the conference and therefore lead to a misunderstanding about what happened there.

The first National Chicana Conference was held in Houston, Texas on the weekend of May 28, 29, and 30. Approximately 600 Chicanas from 23 states in the U.S. came together. Delegates from as far as Maine, Washington, Illinois and Massachusetts. Next to the state of Texas. California had the largest delegation (approximately 53); San Diego alone sent 32 delegates. Needless to say with this large of a gathering a wide variety of political views were represented. One might even say that the entire spectrum of the Chicago movement was reflected at the conference. Therefore if there was confusion at the conference one must consider the number of women present, the diversity of ideas and the difficulty in organizing the 1st National Conference for Chicanas.

SAN DIEGO DELEGATES

Of the 32 Chicanas who were in attendance from San Diego, 23 went by plane (the other 9 Chicanas traveled by volkswagon van). From this you know that quite a few Chicanas were really hustling to raise the more than \$4000 necessary for transportation. The money came from the dance and raffle fund-raiser organized by the San Diego State Chicanas, from the Centro de Estudios Chicanos, from 3d College at U.C.S.D. and from various other organizations, institutions and individuals too numerous to name. To all of these people go the thanks from the San Diego Chicanas.

WHY DID WE GO?

There are several reasons for the interest in the conference shown by San Diego Chicanas. Las Carnalas from San Diego went to Houston because we saw the need for establishing contacts with other Chicanas throughout the country. We also felt the necessity of setting up a communications network among Chicanas and we wanted to find out if Chicanas in other parts of the country were facing the same issues and problems as we are and in which ways they are dealing with them. A further reason for going to Houston was for the experience and knowledge to be gained by meeting with other Chicanas and finding out "where their heads are at" and where the movement as a whole is at. Other reasons for attending the conference that this was to be an historic moment in as much as this was the first National Chicana Conference and it held a tremendous potential in that it could offer alternatives, direction and new perspectives for the Chicano movement as a whole.

WHO WENT?

Of the 32 women who went 16 were from San Diego State College, 7 from the U. of California at San Diego, 2 from the Huelga, 2 from Grossmont College, 1 from Mesa College, 1 was a member of Las Adelitas, and I was a San Ysidro community member. For the most part the women who attended were college students (or educated). This brings us to the question of who didn't go and why not? Community Chicanas were not able to attend due to lack of funds and time, and because they had children to take care of (a suggestion was made that at the next Chicana conference a child care center should be provided). Some of the Chicanas had to think of school and finals, but more important, many of us had husbands and/or boyfriends to deal with who weren't digging on the idea of a Chicana conference. When was the last time in a Chicano stayed away from a conference because his wife or girl friend didn't dig it? Which half of the Chicano movement then is keeping the other half from functioning? Who is dividing the movement?

AGENDA AND WORKSHOP TOPICS

Registration was held all day on Friday May 28. At 8 P.M. we convened in the auditorium for Bienvenidas. Julie Ruiz from Arizona State University delivered the keynote address, "The Mexican-American Women's Public and Self-Image." The general assembly was followed by a "get-acquainted" reception. Lodging for the evening was provided at either the Rec. Center or at the Y. W. C. A.

After breakfast Saturday morning there was a general assembly at which Grace Gil Olivarez gave the keynote speech entitled "Machismo--What are we up Against." In her rap Grace spoke of the myths which surround La Chicana. She went further on to give a historical analysis of women and to emphasize the necessity of Chicanas to become aware of themselves as women. (Isn't that Che's rap about Revolutionaries being human beings first?)

Grace's rap touched off a vigorous response from the Chicanas both positive and negative. The opinions expressed were to be discussed again and again both in and out of the workshops for the next two days, finally culminating in a walk out being staged by half of the conference participants. The discontent stemmed from the fact that the conference was held at the Y. W. C. A. a racist organization and also from the noticeable lack of women from Houston Barrios. We suspect that the same reasons which kept San Diego Community women from attending the conference also kept Houston Community women from attending.

After the general assembly, the conference divided into workshops on "Identity." The topics included (1) sex and the Chicana-noun and verb (2) Choices for Chicanas: education/occupation (3) Marriage: Chicana Style and (4) Religion.

Lunch was served at noon and at 2 P.M. the workshops on "Movimiento Issues" began. The topics (1) Feminist Movement, Do we have a place in it? (2) Exploitation of Women - the Chicana Perspective (3) Women in politics - Is anyone there? (4) Military/Conservatism; Which Way is Forward (5) De Colores: Class and Ethnic Differences.

A number of resolutions came out of some of the above mentioned workshops. They are as follows: (1) SEX AND THE CHICANA: We feel that in order to provide an effective measure to correct the many sexual hangups facing the Chicana community the following resolutions should be implemented.

- A - Sex is good and healthy for both Chicanos and Chicanas and we should implement and must develop this attitude.
- B - We should destroy the myth that religion and culture control our sexual lives.
- C - We recognize that we have been oppressed by those who have interpreted religion and that the religious writing was done by men and interpreted by men.
- D - Therefore, for those who desire religion, they should interpret the Bible, or Catholic rulings according to according to their own feelings, what they think is right. Without guilt or complexes.
- E - Fathers and Mothers should teach their sons to respect women as human beings who are equal in every respect. No Double Standard.
- F - Women should go back to the communities and form discussion and action groups concerning sex education. The main concentration should be for males and women over thirty.
- G - Free legal abortions and birth control for the Chicano Community controlled by Chicanas. As Chicanas we have the right to control our own bodies.
- H - Make use of church centers, neighborhood centers and any other place available.
"Liberate your mind and the body will follow. . ."
"A quitarnos todos nuestros complejos sexuales para tener una vida mejor y feliz."

(2) MARRIAGE CHICANA-STYLE: Reaffirmation that Chicano marriages are the beginnings of Chicano families which perpetuate our culture and are the foundation of the movement.

Points brought up in workshop: Chicanas should understand that Chicanos face oppression and discrimination but this does not mean that the Chicana should be a scape-goat for the man's frustrations. Also, with involvement in the movement - marriages must change. Traditional roles for Chicanas are not acceptable or applicable.

RESOLUTIONS:

A - We are mujeres de la Raza, recognize the Catholic Church as an oppressive institution and do hereby resolve to break away and not go to them to Bless our Unions.

B - Whereas: Unwanted pregnancies are the basis of many social problems and whereas; the role of Mexican-American women has traditionally been limited to the home and whereas; the need for self-determination and the right to govern their own bodies is a necessity for the freedom of all people, therefore: BE IT RESOLVED: That the National Chicana Conference go on record as supporting free and legal abortions for all women who want or need them. Also free family planning available.

C - Whereas: Due to socio-economic and cultural conditions, Chicanas are often heads of households, i.e. widows, divorcees, unwed mothers or must work to supplement family income and; Whereas: There is a critical need for a 24 hour child care center in Chicago communities, therefore BE IT RESOLVED: That the National Chicana Conference Workshop go on record as recommending that every Chicano community promote and set up 24 hour day care facilities, and that it be further resolved that these facilities will reflect the concept of La Raza as the united family, and on the basis of sisterhood. La Raza.. so that men, women, young and old assume the responsibility for the love, care, education, and orientation of all the children of Aztlan.

D - Whereas; Dr. Goldzieher of SWRF has conducted an experiment on Chicana women of west-side San Antonio, Texas, using a new birth control drug; Whereas, no human being should be used for experimental purposes.. Let it be resolved that this conference send telegrams to American Medical Association condemning this act. Let it also be resolved that each Chicano women's group and each Chicana present at the conference begin a letter writing campaign to:

Dr. Joseph Goldzieher
% SW Foundation for Research
San Antonio, Texas

(3) CHOICES FOR CHICANAS

A - Self determination from Community part, in terms of community control of our schools.

B - The philosophy of Education which discourages women from persuing their education and they be reorientated to encourage women.

C - That we in our community push for Chicana counselors at all levels which counselors should be selected by students. That efforts be taken at schools and national levels for more widespread publication of Government jobs.

D - That we as Chicana women push for equal pay as compared to men, to white women.

E - That the image of the Chicana women be changed to that of active.

F - That we push in the community for programs to educate and orientate young Chicana girls to the new life styles.

G - That we push a National and State Organization of Chicana women.

H - That women be encouraged regardless of education attainment and status to feel qualified and obligated to serve the community and to encourage chicano activism in all fronts.

(4) RELIGION

A - Recognize the "Plan de Aztlan".

B - Take over all ready existing Church resources for community use i.e. health, chicano awareness, public information of resources etc.

C - Oppose any institutionalized religion.

D - Revolutionary change of Catholic Church or get out of the way.

E - Establish communication with Barrio and implement programs of awareness to the Chicano movement.

These resolutions were to be used as guidelines for the delegates to take back to their respective communities for discussion and analysis in preparation for the next National Chicana Conference. Some of the workshops did not result in the drafting of resolutions. Again we must examine the reasons for this. First of all one must consider that the number of women in each workshop was quite large and that the variety of ideas was overwhelming.

Being the first national gathering of Chicanas there were too many preliminary ideas to be discussed - it was hard to stick to the topic at hand. There was also a problem in that some of the workshop leaders were incapable of handling a workshop and that the acoustics were bad.

Saturday's sessions ended with the celebration of a Mariachi mass, dinner, singing and dancing. During dinner time a large group of women who were interested in setting up a national communications network met in the auditorium. The group divided itself into three committees, a committee to organize a national Chicana newsletter, a national Chicana newspaper and a national Chicana journal.

Sunday morning we all came together for a general assembly, during which 4 women went up on stage. One of them grabbed a microphone from the speaker and then told the rest of us that there was standing a Chicana from MAYO, a Houston barrio organization, who has some very important information to communicate to us. The Houston Chicana then informed us of the following:

(1) The YWCA women had been unwilling to publicize the conference to and recruit women from the barrio.

(2) Also barrio women had not been allowed to participate in the planning of the conference.

(3) MAYO women had been told that the conference would be geared to the more educated women and not barrio women.

After the Houston Chicana finished speaking another Chicana from California spoke. Her points were the following:

(1) That Chicanas had no business holding the conference at the YWCA because it was run by gavachas.

(2) She felt that we should not talk about Chicanas as being oppressed by Chicanos. We should talk about movimiento issues. That "our enemy was not the macho but the gavacho." She asked that the women leave the YWCA and go to the park near by. There they would be with the people and also away from gavachos. About 1/2 of the women left.

At the park they held workshops and the following resolutions were drafted:

EL CONCEPTO DE AZTLAN

Be it resolved that:

- we support the concept of Aztlan
- since the attitudes of the YWCA are contra el concepto de Aztlan we should nationally boycott YWCA
- all federally, state, or local funded programs should be held in the barrios so these functions will benefit the Chicano community.

EL CHICANO EN EL MIDWEST

Be it resolved that:

- the midwest take part in planning and the National Chicana conference
- Chicanos in the S. W. be sensitized to the problems of Chicanos in the midwest
- tenemos que unirnos porque los del Midwest tambien son Aztlan.

EL CHICANO IN LA GUERRA DE VIETNAM

Be it resolved that:

- We the Chicanas are not at war with the Indochinese people and therefore demand immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops fighting in Vietnam.
- We hereby propose these methods for making our demand known:
 - 1) disrupt local draft boards, induction centers etc.
 - 2) make draft counselors available to everyone (college, H.S.).
 - 3) form reading groups to study the imperialistic war and its effects on your community.

CHICANOS EN LA PINTA

Be it resolved that:

- the immediate release of Chicano political prisoners and all political prisoners
- establish groups of families willing to take in Chicanos out of the pinta
- develop organizations in the pinta
- denounce all oppressive immigration laws
- an organization be established to house, cloth, employ etc., our carnales en la pinta
- provide street sheet listings of basic civil rights of our people.

LOS CAMPESINOS

Be it resolved that:

- La Chicanas organize with other Chicanas to take action and to make efforts in el movimiento successful.
- La Chicana communicate a su hombre the need for her involvement en el Movimiento.
- A dual agreement be reached between a wife and her husband to make their participation en el Movimiento successful.
- Los hombres en el Movimiento educate the younger Chicanos of the contradiction between la Chicana en el hogar y la Chicana en el Movimiento as seen by younger Chicanos.
- If La Chicana works in the home she make an effort to do a double job; in the home and in Movimiento activities.
- An effort be made by las Chicanas to involve toda la familia en el Movimiento.

The women that remained at the YWCA decided to discuss the points that had been made by the women that has asked for the walkout and what the significance did this have.

The women that had organized the conference pointed out that the YWCA building was located in the middle of one of the 5 Houston barrios. They had not had enough women power to thoroughly publicize the conference. Their planning meetings had been a move to other barrios at the request of MAYO but the only women that showed up were the women that had taken the first step towards organizing the conference. Therefore the meetings were moved back to the YWCA. Most of the Chicanas that had been responsible for organizing the conference lived and had always lived right there in that barrio.

Other points were made by other women there. As women we had some definite issues to discuss as women. It was mentioned that many barrio women had not attended the conference because their husbands or boyfriends had not allowed them to. Others did not have anyone to take care of the children, since husbands would not take care of them. Another point was that all institutions that Chicanos are in are gavacho controlled.

We decided that the incident had been a great learning experience in teaching us that we had to learn how to work with each other in spite of our differences.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion it can be said that the Chicana had many positive as well as negative aspects. Among the positive results of the conference was the drafting of resolutions to serve as guidelines for discussion and the setting up of committees for establishing a national communications network among Chicanas. Anyone who expected the conference to be a smooth running thing which would provide concrete solutions to all of the problems and issues concerning "La Chicana" was really tripping out. In the first place a conference is a means of bringing together people and ideas but not necessarily to solve any problems, theoretically or otherwise. That the Chicanas in Houston were not able to come up with some concrete solutions concerning "La Chicana" is no reason to condemn the conference as useless. The Chicano movement as a whole still has not developed concrete solutions for these issues either.

The Chicana conference should be viewed as a seed which will prove to be very fruitful in the future.

The walkout would have served as an even more valuable lesson had the conference come back together as a whole to speak on all of the issues which caused the "split" at the conference are the very issues which are causing the Chicano movement to be splintered and therefore retarding its development. Had there been a meaningful analysis and discussion of these issues the Chicanas would have been able to offer something concrete to the movement.

One thing did mar the beauty of this historic moment and that is that too many Chicanas were too quick to condemn and criticize their sisters, and yet not half as eager to accept criticism. These Chicanas refused to see both sides of the issues, and they also did not understand the educational value of analyzing them. This self centered (one sided) mentality is a danger which the movement as a whole must avoid if it is to move forward.

In the final analysis the National Chicana Conference was a giant step forward for La Chicana and for the movement as a whole. The fact that carnalas finally came together as women indicates the beginning of a force which will definitely strengthen our movement. Since our movement revolves around "el concepto de la Familia" it is understood that women are included in it. In order to have a strong movement, the entire "familia" must know where it is going, why it is going and how it is going to get there. Up to this point Chicanas have been considered the "housemaids" of the familia: making them to be mothers, wives, lovers, secretaries, baby-sitters, baby-makers, dishwashers, cooks, tortilla-makers etc., but never as human beings first.

With the ability to think (a stereotype that the system which has oppressed us for so long uses in defining all Chicanos). And who is it that has placed the Chicana in these roles? It is the very men who criticize her for not being politically aware. The Chicano, has kept the Chicana from developing politically; this was demonstrated by the fact that many Chicanas did not attend the conference due to husbands and boyfriends. (How many times have Chicanos stayed away from a conference because their wives protested?) Chicanos and Chicanas have been conditioned by society to accept these beliefs without question. Today we are involved in a movement which is seeking liberation and in turn oppress part of the familia (la Chicana). Obviously we have to redefine "el concepto de la familia" which so far has held back the development of the movement. Up to this point this has not been done but the Chicana Conference is the beginning to the end of these misconceptions and to true liberation for La Chicana. LIBERATION IS NOT GIVEN, IT IS TAKEN!!!!!!!!!!!!!!

AZTLAN:

CHICANO REVOLT IN THE WINTER GARDEN

By Jose Angel Gutierrez

As we unpacked our car in the 99 degree temperature of Crystal City, Texas, we vividly recalled the typical suffocating South Texas weather. It was June 20, 1969, and we realized that this sweltering summer before us was to be our orientation course in community development. My wife Luz and I had returned to my hometown of Crystal City, Texas, (population about 10,000) for the purpose of helping create a model city for Chicano activity.

We wanted to begin Aztlan. Aztlan, a Nahuatl word in the Aztec language for the Northwestern region of Mexico and according to Aztec traditions, the place where their tribe originated. Presently this geographical area is described as the Southwest in the U.S.

Dimmit, La Salle, and Zavala Counties was to be our community for the next few months and possibly years. This community known as the Winter Garden area centers in Dimmit and Zavala Counties. It is north of Laredo and the area is irrigated from wells and streams to produce vegetables in late winter and early spring. These three counties are dominated by a farming-ranching economy.

Immediately after I had concluded my term as president of MAYO (Mexican-American Youth Incorporated of Texas), Mario Compean, the new president tapped me for his staff.

Mario, Luz and other staff members, as well as myself, agreed that this area should be the model for Chicano activity. This area was chosen because the economic and political conditions Mexicans are subject to is typical of Texas in general and South Texas in particular.

For the past three years, MAYO has engaged in various projects of the state; however, all projects have been mostly experimental and educational in nature for MAYO. It should be clarified that MAYO was not intended to be a mass membership organization; nor, a constipated civic group of reforming.

We wanted to be a group of active crusaders---social justice---Chicano style. This demanded that MAYO members be well-versed in one or more problem areas confronting the Mexicano; but more important it meant that the members of MAYO had to experience the frustration of defeat; the joy of victory; the grind of day-to-day work as well as learning to be real Mexicanos. We wanted to begin Aztlan!

Thus, with three years of experimentation, a broad and ambitious program and no money, the Winter Garden area was officially declared a MAYO project and Aztlan would soon become a reality.

Immediately Luz and I set upon the task of locating other MAYO members in order to begin our model city. The first persons recruited were Linda and Guillermo (Bill) Richey, a VISTA couple from Austin. They joined us in July while they were in La Salle County with their VISTA program.

The four of us pushed the program along in the two counties until November. In November we recruited Maria Ynosencio from Crystal City and Severita Lara and Beatriz Mendoza, two high school students. In the neighboring county of Dimmit, David Ojeda and his wife Rosa joined our efforts.

A month later after the national MAYO convention in Mission, Texas, we recruited the needed additional staff; Viviana Santiago, Ruben Barrera, and Alberto Luera.

As each addition to the group was made our efficiency and prospects for success were increased. Our range of expertise grew; and consequently, our offensive strategy was better implemented. In military slang we were "combat ready."

We now had five full-time workers, three counties (with a population of about 30,000) to cover; plus 4,133 square miles; a small grant; and very few friends in the Winter Garden area.

MAYO did have some friends in the area prior to our arrival in Crystal City that summer. Mario Compean, our leader, had repeatedly visited Cotulla and La Salle County. Juan Ptlan, another MAYO MEMBER, HAD RETAINED HIS Chicano leadership in his hometown or Carrizon Springs in Dimmit County. And also I was still fresh in the memory of many Mexicanos due to the publicity acquired through the media during my tenure as president of MAYO.

Not only that the term "outside agitator" was not voiced because I was a native of Crystal City in Zavala County. This fact allowed us to do our basic power structure research uninhibited all summer and early fall.

In addition, the Chicano community saw us as college educated Chicanos who had returned to their hometowns in behalf of La Raza. La Raza meaning "the race"; however, La Raza is a self-descriptive term used among most Spanish speaking people in this hemisphere.

We were not misguided and mal-informed VISTA volunteers; nor, were we white-knight Latin-Americans that sought to manage the affairs of the gringo for the gringo. We were young Chicanos who saw and felt things like Chicanos should. We loved and accepted our Mexicanismo and saw brighter things for La Raza.

These brighter things were radical ideas indeed to many who heard our comments that long hot summer. To others our ideas were empty dreams long ago abandoned. It seemed to them that a Mexicano was destined to that predicament of always tasting the better fruits of life but never having them. Too many have tasted the strawberries in the field but never with cream and cornflakes. Many of ours have watched over the sirloins and rounds while still on the hoof but never cooked them for an evening meal.

Yet, these same ideas seemed very realistic and positive goals. The primary goal was to force the educational system to extend to the Mexican student. Over 70% of the Mexican student in the schools of Crystal City are pushed out or termed "drop out" if you believe the Mexicano students have some inherent deficiency. These students do not finish the twelfth grade.

The median education of Mexicanos 25 years and older in Zavala County in 1960 was 2.3 grade levels. The median a previous decade had been 1.8 grade levels. The rate of progress has been half a grade level per decade. Should that rate triple this decade and continue to the year 2000 the Mexican community will finish junior high school by the next century. The white median has been well over nine grades in 1950 and eleven grades in 1960.

The second goal was to bring democracy to those countries---in other words---rule by the majority. The Mexican population far outnumbers the white population. There is not a significant number of black citizens. In most cases, the ratio of Chicanos to gringos is about 70% to 30%.

One of the state's voting procedure requires annual voter registration in person or by mail. The voter registration is open between October and January. Ironically, the filing deadline for candidate is early February. In spite of this anti-democratic procedure and impractical timetable some Mexicanos do register to vote. However, these few are faced with all white ballots in the primary or non-partisan elections because Mexicanos have failed to file for public office. This failure to file is not a result of apathy, ignorance, or irresponsibility. It is a result of fear---economic fear.

In 1960, the median of Mexican family in the sorry state of Texas was \$2,913. A white family earns \$200 less than double the amount of earnings of a Mexican family. In Crystal City, there were 359 families who earned less than \$1000 per year in 1968. That same year some 764 additional families earned yearly incomes of \$1000-\$2990. And if income was not enough the average Mexican family was 5.6 members.

Obviously the average Chicano could not afford the luxury of running for public office. This is one reason why there is only one Mexican State Senator, Jose Maria Bernal.

Senator Bernal represents the San Antonio district plus two million Chicanos in Texas. There are only two Spanish surnamed congressmen in Washington, D.C.

Locally in Texas the number of Chicano office holders is limited even beyond tokenism. Texas has 254 counties and a total population of about 11 million people. In 1966 La Raza had four county sheriffs; four county judges; three district attorneys; and 38 county commissioners (four elected per county). In all of Texas cities only 18 had Mexican mayors in 1967. A total of 67 Chicano office-holders represented the two million and more Chicanos that live in Texas.

Next to our educational and political goal our third goal was a direct confrontation with the gringo. We sought to expose, confront, and eliminate the gringo. We felt that it was necessary to polarize the community over issues into Chicano versus gringos.

Basically, the difference between the Chicano and gringo, aside from the bad-good guy criteria is one of attitude. The attitude gringos have of racial superiority; of paternalism; of divine right; of xenophobia; of bigotry; and of animalism is well-known to La Raza.

After the gringo was exposed publically, the next step was to confront their security---status, business, and morality in order to recognize the enemy in all their involvements of policies, roles and inner manipulations. Once the Chicano community recognized the enemy, then he had the power to eliminate gringo attitudes by not voting for the gringo and not buying from the gringo. Hence, the Chicano community would limit the primitives. Consequently, the Chicano would take power available to the gringo and then attack the colonists states so evident in South Texas.

The fourth goal of our Aztlan model would be a program of rural economic development since colonialism still exists in South Texas. Under this economic development the first step would be to replace the existing white managerial functions with Chicano expertise. The transfer of existing businesses from gringo hands to Chicano hands would be the second step. In the last step, La Raza would set upon an agri-business, the oil and gas industry, and the modern day land and cattle barons--the real subversives in America today. In 1967, the agri-business income in Dimmit, La Salle, and Zavala counties totaled about 31 million dollars.

Our program unfolded the evening of November 9, 1969, at the school board meeting held in the superintendent's conference room. Over 450 Mexican parents and students tried to crowd in the 12 by 15 foot room but were unsuccessful.

On the agenda was the discussion of a petition by the Chicano students for relevant and equal quality education. In this document the students stated that the election of the homecoming football queen and coronation be cancelled this year. It seemed that the Chicano students were furious over the use of a 1969 version of the infamous grandfather clause as an election procedure. The clause stated that the homecoming queen candidates' parents must have been ex-graduates of Crystal City High School. This eliminated several Chicano girls because the late 30's and early 40's did not yield an over abundant supply of Chicano graduates.

Out of about 2,300 students only six Mexicanas were qualified to run in spite of the fact that 95% of the student body were Chicanos. This unfair qualification for homecoming queen was one of the grievances brought before the school board.

During the meeting the crowd became very angry because the five white and two Mexican school board members refuse to second the motion made by Eduardo Trevino to move the meeting to a much larger area.

Finally after some three hours of much heated legal and orderly paternalistic insults and bitter anti-gringo denunciation, the school board saw the need to stop the coronation from taking place on school grounds. In protest, however, the ex-students association, sponsors of that event held the coronation in a fitting safe place---a vegetable shed well-ventilated by winter.

The school board had postponed deciding on the order and educationally more important points of the petition until the next regular meeting.

Then they refused to hold a special scheduled meeting which infuriated the Chicano community. On December 8, 1969, the school board held a five minute business meeting which was attended by several Chicano students and parents. The meeting was bogged down by "you're out of order" didactic procedures. Because nothing was accomplished at this meeting the students and parents instantly organized into action---a boycott of classes.

The following morning some 230 students and parents stood in front of the high school in picket-line fashion.

Several days later over 1700 students out of school, several persons came to Crystal City to see what the problem was. The included members of the department of justice community relations services; Texas education agency representatives, and the Mexican-American legal defense fund lawyers. The Chicanos had embarked on the first successful boycott in Texas!

The Chicano community had participated in numerous exuberant rallies during the month long boycott. These rallies made me recall the rallies that had been held on April 2, 1963. On this day Crystal City Chicanos had cheered themselves hoarse over "los cinco candidatos de la raza." (the five Mexican candidates), who defeated a gringo mayor of 38 years and a gringo councilman of mixed tenure.

The rallies of Christmas 1969 provided the happiest times for La Raza. Since the boycott in La Raza had maintained the upper hand in media; in tactics; and in morale. The mood of eminent victory was exemplified by speaker after speaker during the rallies.

During this time the Mexicanos of Crystal City were one in thought, action, and goal---they were la raza unida. No longer did the slogans for unity need shouting; nor, did the songs of solidarity need heeding---La Raza had gotten it all together.

During the school boycott the farm workers opened their modest homes to the strangers from TEAM (Texans for the Educational Advancement of the Mexican-Americans).

The members of TEAM came to teach the boycotting students; the truckers provided the bus services for liberation classes; and the parents joined their children at the daily marching around the school and through the city's white business sector.

One day while marching by the Minimax Store two part-time employees of the store were fired by the owner. This local bigot, well versed in the class methods of Mexican intimidation, fired the two Chicanos on the spot. This type of employment insecurity has prevailed in South Texas for years. It has prevented any meaningful endeavor toward social justice in South Texas.

No sooner had J. D. Speer, owner of Speer's Minimax, finished dropping the last nickel of wages into the hands of those two boycotting students, when he learned that LA RAZA had declared a boycott of his grocery store. In a matter of days, reports came in, demonstrating the economic might of the Chicano consumer---the Minimax was financially sinking. The owner usually sold over 300 pounds of ground beef per weekend and now he was selling about ten pounds. Not a single loaf of name brand bread was sold. The store was strictly off-limits to the Mexicanos of Crystal City. Shortly thereafter, La Raza began to collect funds for the establishment of a Chicano store.

This economic boycott was not the only one in effect. The Lone Star Beer distributor came under attack because of his sister-in-law's public racist statement. The sister-in-law, a high school teacher in Crystal City, said that Chicanos ought to return to Mexico or shut up. She felt that Chicanos should be grateful for the opportunity to attend schools with whites and sit next to them.

Also on the boycott list were two additional establishments; a drive-in grocery and dry cleaners. The grocer's family had instituted disharment proceedings against the students Chicano lawyer, Jesus Gamez, Jr. They were later dropped.

The fact that several businesses were the object of effective boycotts made the white business community cool the rhetoric of racism and reflect a bit for fear that their businesses might be hit next.

In fact one white store manager sought to employ a leader of the walk-out in order to obtain insurance... That leader turned down the offer. So did the two students who refused Speer's offer to pay for their college education in exchange for the boycott and their labor.

The boycott received publicity and favorable editorials from La Verdad, the only Spanish language newspaper in the area. La Verdad had been originally totally operated by us but by boycott time the paper was being managed by a local school teacher, Ignacio Lozano, and the walkout leaders. The paper was being subsidized by the Chicano business men of the Winter Garden area. The creation of a Chicano news organ occurred at the same time as did the emergence of a new civil rights organization: Ciudadanos Unidos (United Citizens).

Members of Ciudadanos Unidos were parents of the boycotting students---they were the men who worked daily; the men who earned the dollar; the men who experienced being pushed down just as their sons were experiencing. These were the men who would collectively limit the power of the gringo over La Raza.

TEAM kept the students in class part of the day while the parents kept TEAM in their homes during the night. The protesting Chicano students went out in the evening and registered Chicanos who were eligible to vote.

"Registration, registration," was the word uttered daily by the young Mexicanos. As a result all time voter registration records were set in all three counties.

The youth in their voter registration travels around the area organized themselves into a tri-county organization (YA meaning "now" in Spanish).

School had let out for the Christmas holidays and no settlement had been reached. School began after the holidays on January 7, 1970 and no settlement had been reached yet.

The school board had prevented any settlement by insisting on private discussion pertaining to the petition with parents of students still in school.

Later as if reminded how to handle Mexicans, the board offered to meet with parents of boycotting students individually. After all this folly the board finally decided that enough money had been lost in average daily attendance funds to the district; and perhaps that in the negotiations between the parents and students that La Raza would fumble.

La Raza did not fumble and with the exception of freedom of the press in the high school and more liberal dress code, all other demands were granted. On January 6, 1970, the Crystal City Independent School District returned to normal student attendance.

In the surrounding areas administrators and school board members relaxed at the news because there had been talk of sympathetic walkouts in their schools; however, that relaxation turned into bitter resentment because the gringos realized that they had conceded victory to La Raza. What would happen next? Where would it all end?

Not long after capitulation by the school board did the gringos in the area learn what was next. The entire state of Texas also learned.

For in this decade Aztlan would have its own political party. The new political party organized in Texas would be named La Raza Unida. The Chicano party was legally filed with the county judges of the three counties in the Winter Garder area and also in Hidalgo county deep in the Rio Grande Valley.

La Raza Unida Party caused much alarm, debate, and enthusiasm throughout the state. The alarmists judged the party to be un-American, nationalistic, racism in reverse, and a Mexican segregationist movement.

The debaters argued hot and heavy over the merits of a Chicano party for Chicanos versus the opportunities available as liberals in a democratic party or as liberal Republicans.

Those that were enthusiastic knew that with La Raza Unida Party, the Mexicanos of Texas would certainly have a chance for victory. They had been Mexican long enough to know that La Raza, in addition to being wealthless; had always been voiceless and voteless.

By the filing deadline in early February all county offices up for election were being contested by La Raza Unida Candidates in four counties. The following month the city hall offices up for election and school board seats in the Winter Garden counties were being sought by candidates identified with the new party. These non-partisan elections were to be held in April. La Raza Unida had a grand total of 16 candidates seeking election.

However, in late March Pablo Puente, a Crystal City candidate for city council, was disqualified a few days prior to the commencement of absentee balloting.

Supposedly, the disqualification came as a result of not being a real estate owner in Crystal City.

Immediately, Jesus Gamez, a Mexican-American Legal Defense Fund Corresponding Attorney, filed suit in the state court. Pablo Puente lost the case. The judges agreed that ownership of property should not be a prerequisite for public office but the court pointed out that absentee balloting had already begun and the question of putting Puente on the ballot was not moot.

Attorney Gamez and the Fund appealed the case into the federal court system where they were given the opportunity to explain how such a practice opened the door to unlimited fraud.

The court stated that any candidate could be disqualified for any reason a few days prior to absentee balloting and by court ruling could be taken off the ballot because the question was moot with the casting of the first absentee ballot. (All federal legislation regarding voting rights excludes the Mexican-American from protection.)

The federal judge ordered that new ballots be printed and Puente agreed to forfeit all 150 absentee ballots that had already been cast.

The court decision of April 3, 1970, could not have been timed more perfectly. La Raza was on the ballot. The following day saw the largest turn out of voters for the school board election.

The city of Cotulla in La Salle County was no exception. Cotulla set the pace for the city---two candidates for the school board won and of the four city council seats contested four now belonged to La Raza. The city government was now under new Chicano leadership.

In Carrizo Springs, the county seat of Dimmit, two school board seats were won by La Raza Unida sponsored candidates.

La Raza Unida candidates in Crystal City won the school board election.

The score at the end of the day read: Raza 11; gringos 1. On April 7, 1970, a repeat performance occurred. All Chicano candidates for the city council of Carrizo Springs and Crystal City won by an even larger margin. The score now read: Raza 15; gringos 1.

Included in the 15 were two new mayors; school board majorities; and two city council majorities.

Eleven months later, some of the radical ideas of the previous summer had become a reality. Our Chicano community of Aztlan was indeed accomplishing the goals we had declared.

The newspapers flashed the news across the state and invitations began coming in from many organizations, communities, and universities.

In an attempt to raise much needed funds and to accept as many invitations as possible, the Chicano office holders accepted several speaking engagements.

Excluding the Wesleyan crowd, all others were proud-blooded Mexicanos; and full of emotions because Aztlan had begun in the Winter Garden.

As dramatically as it had surfaced, La Raza's movement continued within the new structure.

The school system in Crystal City quickly approved bi-lingual and bi-cultural education from kindergarten to the third grade. New Mexican counselors were sought and hired. New Chicano principals, teachers, administrators, and a school attorney were hired.

A free breakfast program for all elementary students was in operation by the last six weeks of school.

A teacher housing package is being developed and so is the contract agreement for community control of school facilities.

An additional summer educational program for departing farm workers' children was implemented.

Crystal City cheerleaders elected were all Chicano girls and the only white girl elected refused to accept the position of being the new minority.

Mexican Independence Day (September 16) is now being considered as a school holiday.

In nearby Cotulla, the new mayor has begun preparations for a near million dollar housing project, a feasibility study of street improvements; a summer recreation program; and the creation of a city manager's position.

Although the Cotulla school board does not have a Chicano majority, it has eliminated a discriminatory English proficiency examination which has been used to classify Mexicans as mentally retarded.

The board also dropped the prohibition of speaking Spanish on school grounds. Proposals for federal funds are being submitted. In short progress is being made as quickly as possible.

Soon after the celebrations and last shouts of victory Raza Unida Party began preparations for the upcoming nominating conventions of May 2d.

Usually the positions open had only one candidate filed, so the value lay not in the operational procedures of the convention, but in the alternatives now available to the voters of the area.

In other words by participating in this convention a voter (particularly if he is a Mexican) can vote in a convention rather than on a paper ballot.

Secondly the candidates of Raza Unida have not paid a filing fee to run; hence, the voter knows a potential candidate has not been excluded on the basis of finances.

Thirdly the voter can enjoy the entire convention in a familiar language, Spanish, as well as in English.

THE

NONVANISHING

INDIAN

INTRODUCTION

The papers in this handout are meant as a supplement to Custer Died For Your Sins and to convey a feel for what the Indian is saying today--1972. Since Vine Deloria published his book, there have been a number of changes within the Indian movement, and one of the most dramatic has been the rise to influence of the American Indian Movement (AIM). The national headquarters is in Washington and one of the national co-directors, Vernon Bellecourt, has been influential in the Denver, Colorado chapter. The Indians at the Denver chapter were kind enough to make available to DRRRI the first four of the five papers of this reader.

The papers should make you aware of at least some of the ideas which today form what could be called contemporary Indian thought. However, there are many other leaders and organizations in the United States, and AIM is selected as one of a number of such organizations which are vitally concerned with the conditions of the Native Americans. For example, in Denver alone, there are groups such as the Denver Native American United, AIM, the Coalition of Indian-Controlled School Boards, the American Indian Commission on Alcohol and Drug Abuse, and others. These groups are particularly set up to help the urban Indian. One must realize that other cities and the rural environment (on and off the reservation) may have different views, leaders, and organizations.

The first reading, "The Funny (?) Things. . .," presents a comprehensive list of stereotypes and myths that all Americans must be aware of. The next two go specifically into the philosophy and attitude of AIM. The members of AIM consider themselves to be an activist group and the letter from Vernon Bellecourt gives an indication of what he considers the success of AIM in Denver. The other letter, on the other hand, goes into a more emotional topic -- relations between minority groups. The first paragraph is a challenge not only to American society as a whole but also to Blacks and Chicanos. Paper number four is a press release which shows what AIM and other organizations are doing at the national level. As you meet in your classrooms, the Indians from all parts of the United States are making a march on Washington -- the Trail of Broken Treaties.

There have been many disputes between the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and the American Indian, but one of the most controversial has been the issue of "Indian Occupation of Federal Property." The enclosed paper from the BIA presents their side of the controversy.

"THE FUNNY (?) THINGS PEOPLE SAY TO US. . .
AS HEARD BY THE NATIVE AMERICAN PEOPLE"

WARNING !

KEEP OUT OF THE REACH OF RACISTS!

February 15, 1972
American Indian Movement
Denver, Colorado

In case you know or don't know that you are sticking your foot in your mouth and want to run and hide from the Indian you are having lunch with, you should study this brief manual.

Many times we Indian people are greeted in surrounding communities with these reiterated phrases. We hear these phrases from people on the streets who suddenly notice that we are present or we see these same quotes written in books, in speeches or even in congressional reports. The following quotations are taken from people on the streets everywhere in America. See if you can find where you fit in. Have you done your "thing" to the Indian?

If you wonder where these things come from just look at yourself and at the boob tube. In case you're wondering what they are just look in your handy-dandy dictionary under the word "stereotype."

Again your ever-loving curiosity of the Native American people is put to practice -- so, go ahead and read!

AND NOW TO BEGIN. . .

"Funny you don't look like an Indian."

"Gees, a real live Indian: I've never seen an Indian before."

"I thought there weren't any Indians anymore--just on TV."

"Go back where you came from!"

"Can you dance for me; say something in Injun."

"How."

"Why are you Indians so picky about the things we White people do?"

"Where would you Indians be today if we White men didn't pollute (oops, editor's mistake, should read instead, develop) your land?"

"Did you Indians dance again, it's raining outside?"

"Reservations are placed where Indians live in teepees and hunt deer."

"Just like a bunch of wild Indians."

"Don't get so mad -- you're not acting like an Indian."

"Some of my best friends are Indians."

"You say you're a Sioux, do you know what's his name, he's a Pima?"

"We have an 'Indian problem' and here is Mr. Activist Indian to tell us all about the 'Indian problem.'"

"We really dig you Indians; you're our brothers. We want to groove and understand you -- got any peyote?"

"Hey chief, come here. You too Pocahontas."

"Give me an Indian name."

"And now let us talk about the Black problem and the others, too, like the Indian, Chicano, etc."

"We like the Indian better than the Black man 'cuz he's not so violent."

"We would like to help out the Indian so we collected all these old toothbrushes, toothpaste, and clothes for the Indian people; we hope that they can put them to good use."

"The Indian people should share this land with us. I don't understand why they're so greedy, look at all the reservations they've got."

"You dirty Indians!"

"Hello we'd like an Indian to talk to us about how he keeps his lakes, forests and streams so unpolluted."

"Hello, can you come and talk to us about the American Indian?"

"I feel sorry for those poor Indians in those run-down houses. I just don't understand why they won't let us take pictures of them."

"Hey guess what, I saw an Indian today!"

"I'm part Indian. My grandmother was a Cherokee. She was a princess."

"And now folks we have a surprise for you, we have some authentic Indian dancers from Boy Scout Troop 243."

"Who would want to be an Indian anyway."

"Why don't you Indians develop this land, there's a lot of potential in it?"

"Hello my fellow Redskins we'd like to make your reservation into a national park."

"Why don't they do it the Indian way?"

"Wow, I really think the Indian should join the revolution. How come the Indian doesn't believe in the Third World Movement?"

"Would you like to join the international club?"

"Let's leave this powwow, who wants to watch these Indians jump up and down."

"Whooo! . . . let's play cowboys and Indians. You can be the Indian and I get to shoot you down -- o.k.?"

"Well you Indians better learn that we are the majority now."

"How come they're getting so militant these days; they're just like those niggers. Why I used to like Indians."

"All Indians are stoic, stolid and devoid of humor."

"The American Indian came across the Bering Straits and migrated down to the Northern continent. So, you see they too are immigrants."

"Columbus discovered America!"

"Eric the Red discovered America."

"We named this land after Amerigo Vespucci."

"Hey you guys are the first Americans aren't you?"

"Do Indians have a religion?"

"Let us make them just like us; we'll Christianize them."

"O. K. children open your book entitled the Vanishing American."

"Last year four million dollars was spent to help the Indians. We had a staff of 17,000 who had wages averaging at 10,000 dollars a year."

"The average annual income for Indians is about . . . oh well its below the poverty level. And by the way we have abolished the 'outhouse' on some reservations and given them inside facilities."

"Let me tell you, I think the Blacks are bad off, but you Indians really have it bad -- right on!"

"Washington is the father of our country."

Now that you've learned to do your 'thing' on the Indian . . . or maybe you didn't. I bet you know all along. May be now you won't do it anymore. After all you are Christians who believe in brotherly love . . . remember?

Salutations brother!

AN INSIGHT TO THE PHILOSOPHY OF AIM

AIM (The American Indian Movement) was established nearly three years ago in Minneapolis, Minnesota, as an action orientated organization.

Indian people from all over the nation at that time, were beginning to voice their objected opinions to the treatment all Indian people were receiving, but realized when these objections were formulated and passed on as presentations to local, state and federal agencies, no apparent action resulted.

When AIM made its first move, constituting definite action by a collective body of Indians, the rest of our people who had by now become fairly brow-beaten, immediately recognized this new attitude. It was as if certain spirits of our ancestors had risen from the past only now, unlike then, education was their main front and telephones, rather than signals of smoke, were their means of communicating.

Since three years ago, AIM has been widely accepted and recognized as an action orientated group filling gaps in certain areas where state, local, or federally funded Indian organizations are prohibited to participate. And in attempts made by AIM chapters nationally, much has been done to further increase the individual Indian's chances of realizing gain where normally this would not have been possible.

AIM was put together here in the Denver area around the first of the new year, 1971, and since its original membership of one or two, has grown to over 300 people. AIM has worked extensively in areas of housing, job placement, court services, legal defense, our people in correctional institutions, etc., and are making efforts to create a youth center to provide recreational activities, drug and alcohol education to our young people, and has at this writing, been instrumental in creating an over-all change of attitudes where certain federal agencies regarding the welfare of Indians are concerned. For many Indian people AIM has been a God-send for it has given a new hope to those people who had begun to feel there was no hope left at all. In effect, AIM is not only a group of dedicated people, but a concerned family as well.

However, in order to further pursue its objective of supporting all Indian people, whether urban or reservation, adequate funds must be provided. Presently, (small seed money grants) are what sustains our attempts, and although federal funding is available in some cases we are pledged to action and when federal funding is provided, 75% of all attempts are blocked by prohibitive restrictions making most organizations under such heading only partially effective.

In short AIM must be allowed to continue its directed course. Keeping aligned with our philosophy of working for the benefit of all Indian people alike, and must be allowed as well to increase its activities by employing qualified Indian people in areas outlined in our program proposal budget to work for the good of all Indian brothers.

Respectfully submitted,

VERNON BELLECOURT
DIRECTOR, AIM

Lately, a cry has risen across the nation for consideration by people who are bogged down in the poverty struggle, and even though the cry is being carried louder and farther as each day progresses, by the original inhabitants and land holder, the American Indian, the lessees of this land are finding it harder and harder to hear. In fact, it seems that now too, our brother the Blacks and the Chicanos have become so caught up on the plight to become the same as the White man as far as wealth and material possessions are concerned that they as well are turning their backs on us as a result, have become just as ruthless in their attempts to control.

And obviously, a new direction is being sought by all mankind to adhere their thoughts to as each new leader of this country has demonstrated. But in spite of this reality, it appears that all the attempts made by man to create, have not been successful but rather have failed as witnessed by the ever increasing popularity of the world-wide wars and conflicts.

And even though our people the Red Man, has volunteered to fight and die in every major war this nation has endorsed, the same country that in fact defeated us and then left us penniless and grubbing, they still call you brother and pray for your welfare daily. And in our spiritual practices, have made attempts to offer you the same brotherhood and peaceful coexistence you one had before the long arm of greed and fear brought death to your prophet Jesus Christ and ruination to your philosophy.

And though our people were made confused and left wandering homeless by the intended missionary structure of so-called Christianity, and were made to think of themselves as "savages" they still have somehow found a way to continue the thought of brotherhood and love where you are concerned, and have still looked to you for leadership through all these years of sufferage.

But for what appears to be obvious reasons, the long awaited leadership has not arrived and in your attempts to control, the concept of equality has been twisted so that now, it means little more to most than simply having enough money to be used to open certain doors where opportunity lies waiting beyond. And because of this, our people are learning that this money must be the key and as a result, are getting increasingly more impatient. The church society does control most of the people's money even though I visualize a gradual falling off, but daily when we approach your leaders with a plan for their fair sharing, they close their ears and put bigger locks on the doors. And the situation has become appalling.

Need we point out the fact that if you were in the same position as we, and if we had come to Europe looking for exile the way your ancestors came here to do, you would not have hesitated to stand up and fight and die in retaliation as we were forced to do so long a time ago. And if we had been the offenders who thanked God for slaughtering hundreds of defenseless people the way it happened to us as witnessed in the act of one Col Chivington, a Christian minister and soldier, at Sand Creek, Colorado, you would not have stood for it either. Then you would be looking for the same fairness from us. In fact, if the entire picture were turned around and we were the rulers of this country as by right we should have been, you would have found a word to classify us with and in time you would have learned to hate us even more than most of your people already do. Of course, on the other hand you might have been able to recognize the situation in which we have been held even in this year of 1971, and maybe you would not have been so confused yourselves.

To put it clearly, the problem does not lie in the fact that we are Indian and a sovereign nation by rights, but that you have fostered your own guilt so long now that you have grown fearful of yourselves and consequently have grown blind to the needs and considerations of other races of man.

We are the only nation which was defeated by the U. S. and left poor as a result. Look at Germany, Japan, Korea, and then look at us right here under your noses and then try to find a way to justify the situation that has been created and never changed except to go from poor to worse, and then ponder the situation and the seriousness of it with open eyes and realize for once why we stand at your doors.

Our people are learning more of your methods as each day passes and are finding that in the midst of these discoveries, they are hungry. We were here when you came and now we are the ones on welfare. How ironic! But be aware that the pot of poverty we have been living in is fast heading to a boil and may explode if you are not made wise.

So let's begin in a new direction. Let us show you how we have managed to maintain the thought of brotherhood and acceptance for you all these years you have tried to keep us out.

Let us teach you without destroying your concepts of praying the way ours was weakened and let us live together with equal chance and opportunity for all men regardless who.

But before we start, allow us the dignity that comes from being able to stand on your own two feet, as you have allowed all the other defeated nations to do and the time will come when peace will prevail. Or, the most violent, destructive revolution ever imagined will become a reality and all of mankind's dreams will crumble.

We have the necessary tools of beneficial change for man, but what we do not have is the necessary resources to implement this new thought. However, we are offering you a chance to set a precedent for all your people to marvel over, and to eventually learn to look to you with praise and new faith. We will take care of our own.

We are not asking for a handout, for in all truth, you owe it to us for the sake of all our aged, our middle-aged, and our starving children, we need money to operate more effectively for all our people regardless where and we know that you have it. The truth lies in the fact of all your extravagantly built churches and temples we have been herded into.

American Indian Movement

TRAIL OF BROKEN TREATIES

"Pan American Natives Quest for Justice"

On November 1 through 7, 1972, an expected 100,000 Indians from every state in the union will converge on the White House in an effort to remind elected officials of the common mistreatment and neglect of the American Indian.

Indian organizations, tribal members and Indian nations from the United States, Canada and South America have joined together to present a final plea to the President and Congress to stop these daily atrocities. Seven caravans starting from Seattle, San Francisco, Los Angeles, British Columbia, Ottawa, Winnipeg, and Ontario will begin October 6 and will stop in 75 major cities to bring attention to the "Trail of Broken Treaties."

The Seattle trail will be organized by Sidney Mills, Nasquale, Russell Means, Oglala Sioux and Hank Adams, Washington Fishing Rights Activist. The San Francisco trail will be organized by Dennis Banks, Ojibway and Mad Bear Anderson, spiritual leader. The trail from Los Angeles will be organized by William Sargent, Chippewa and Rod Skenadore, Oneida.

Each trail will be led by spiritual leaders who will carry the Sacred Peace Pipe and Drum. Every drum will beat day and night reminding Americans of the treaties and every peace pipe will be smoked to remind America and history in the manner under which the treaties were signed.

This final effort will fulfill a prophecy destined to end the "Trail of Broken Treaties." Indians from every reservation, from towns and cities, whether they be living in abandoned cars, tar paper shacks or on the streets, will join the caravans in a journey destined for what we hope will change the course of history for this country's first citizen in the Pan-American Natives' quest for justice.

TRAIL OF BROKEN TREATIES NATIONAL COMMUNICATIONS CENTER

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YOU ASKED ABOUT

INDIAN OCCUPATIONS OF FEDERAL PROPERTY

The United States Government has never espoused the ceding of public property to private citizens solely on the basis of physical occupancy. Generally speaking, no authority by reason of treaty or statute has existed that would give Indians rights to claim ownership of land they have occupied.

General Services Administration, a Federal agency, is in concept "landlord" of all Federal property and all other Federal agencies are "tenants." As with non-government landlords, the use to which property is put changes from time to time. Although a piece of land may be surplus to one governmental need it may not be to another.

However, one tribe of Indians, the Taos Pueblo, recently was awarded 48,000 acres of land in New Mexico that had been part of Carson National Forest by an Act of the Congress. The Pueblo claimed that land on the basis of use at one time. Its claim was validated by the Indian Claims Commission.

The Indian Claims Commission is a special tribunal established under a Congressional Act of August 13, 1946 to consider claims of Indian tribes, bands, or other identifiable groups for monetary judgments -- usually based on past land transactions between the groups and the U. S. Government -- against the United States. As of the end of the last fiscal year it had awarded \$341.4 million to Indian groups.

ALCATRAZ

Fifteen Indians were removed from Alcatraz Island by a joint operation of the Justice Department, General Services Administration, and the Coast Guard.

Alcatraz Island was declared surplus to the needs of the Federal Government in May 1968. The City of San Francisco a month later expressed an interest in having the Island transferred to its ownership and began considering proposals to develop it. When the San Francisco City Council went on record in favor of one particular proposal, enough local opposition was aroused to cause the Secretary of the Interior to ask the General Services Administrator to delay disposing of the Island until the Department of the Interior had an opportunity to study all feasible potential uses for the Island which might enhance the environment of San Francisco.

The final report, based on extensive study, recommended that Alcatraz Island be placed under the jurisdiction of the National Park Service for park and open space purposes. It also recommended that a more comprehensive study be made of Federal lands in the San Francisco Bay area to determine the feasibility of establishing a Golden Gate National Recreation Area. Alcatraz would be a part of such an area. Because of the difficulties in providing water and other services it probably would be allowed to return to a more national setting.

It was not until the study had been nearly completed that the Indians moved onto the Island and claimed ownership.

NIKE MISSILE SITE

Indians of the Chicago Area, in an effort to improve their housing, have asked that the abandoned Nike Missile Site on the shores of Lake Michigan be deeded to the American Indian Village. The site of the Nike base is the property of the Chicago Park District on lease to the U. S. Army until July 19, 1971. At that time, according to Army officials, the lease will be terminated and the site will no longer be under Federal jurisdiction. Disposal of the property will be at the discretion of and subject to the laws of the City of Chicago.

MOUNT RUSHMORE

Some 40 to 60 Indians who represented the Crazy Horse Mountain movement and the American Indian movement were arrested after they occupied the top of Mount Rushmore in South Dakota. They demanded that the Federal Government honor treaties they said gave the Sioux Indians everything in South Dakota west of the Missouri River.

Indians on Alcatraz claimed that Island on the basis of the Sioux Treaty of Fort Laramie of 1868. However, Federal officials have not agreed on the Indian interpretation of the treaty and at this time it appears that the same will be true in the case of Mount Rushmore.

PITT RIVER, CALIFORNIA

A \$10 billion Federal Civil Rights suit filed in U. S. District Court against Governor Ronald Reagan and the State of California by Pitt River Indians has been dismissed. The complaint also named as defendants Pacific Gas and Electric Company and several Shasta County, California officials. The suite asked the Federal Court to halt prosecution of the Indians on trespass charges stemming from their attempts to occupy a PG&E campground in Shasta County last June. The Indians claim the land as theirs.

FORT LAWTON

The City of Seattle has made application through the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation of the Department of the Interior for a land transfer that would involve the Fort Lawton property. The City of Seattle has proposed that Indians be allowed to administer a cultural center in what it conceives of as a regional park.

The United Indians of All Tribes has asked for ownership of 35 acres of the property under legislation administered by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Resolution of the controversy now rests with the General Services Administration.

THE AMERICAN INDIANS

It has been five centuries since the white man landed on Indian soil, and he has never learned to understand the Indian's mind or the Indian's way. For us to better understand the Indian of today we must first appreciate what the Indian was when the settlers arrived, and what he has contributed since.

The beliefs, ways of life, and roles of the American Indians are interwoven so intimately with the cultures and histories of all the modern nations of the Americas that no civilization of the western hemisphere can be fully understood without knowledge and appreciation of them. And yet, from the time of the European's first meeting with the Indians in 1492 until today, the Indian has been a familiar but little known, and indeed, often an unreal person to the Non-Indian. What has been known about him moreover, frequently has been superficial, distorted or false.

The Indian gave and the white man took. It is no wonder the phrase "give until it hurts" came so easy to today's society, for we felt the Indians should do this from the time of the settlers. We can think the Indians generosity for maize, potatoes, beans, peanuts, peppers, tomatoes, pumpkins, avacados, pineapples, tobacco, vanilla, cotton, rubber and a large number of drugs as well as his land, and in return we attempted to destroy his culture and force him to accept ours.

The Indian is a traditionalist in the most absolute form, having an indivisible alliance with his environment. He was the first conservationist, he still has an omniscient affinity to nature. The Indian reveres his land, in spite of the barren wastes to which he has been assigned, and where to this day he must keep fighting to hold onto his fishing and hunting rights. In spite of this, tribal ties remain strong, and the Indian does not want to be homogenized into a white society.

The pioneers on the other hand were an unusual breed. They were tough, greedy, and to justify to themselves the breaking of agreements and the stealing of land, psychologically they had to despise the people among whom they came. From this ill-educated band there flowed reports that the Indian was an obdurate animal who refused to acknowledge the blessings of white civilization. The feeling of contempt was further enhanced by the fact that the adventurers could not understand the Indian. They argued that he was not acquisitive, did not want gold, and resisted doing more work than was necessary to feed himself and his kin. He must therefore belong to some lowly species, undeserving of the rights of freedom or ownership. There was no alternative but to despise and destroy him.

Another factor establishing the white lack of understanding of the Indian comes from the lack of Indian density along the Eastern seaboard. When the British immigrants started coming to America, the Indian population of what is now the United States was approximately 850,000, widely scattered and largely unrelated. The maximum density of the Indian population was to be found along the West Coast and the Rio Grande Valley. Had there been a large compact native population along or near the Eastern seaboard, then some interacting adjustments leading to integration might have taken place, as it did in Brazil.

In comparing the settlement of the America's there are several points of contrast to remember:

- a. The Europeans found a virtually unoccupied land in North America. While the Spanish and Portuguese found major Indian concentrations in Central and South America.
- b. The Spanish and Portuguese settlements were largely brought about by single men, while the colonivation of the united States was based on mass immigration of families.

c. Both Spain and Portugal encouraged intermarriage as a policy, not only with native Indians but with imported Negro slaves. Although there wasn't a combined effort among the settlers to discriminate or be prejudiced toward the Indians at the outset, the lack of interacting and the ease of establishing a foothold among the Eastern seaboard helped the Europeans to misunderstand the Indians. Consequently, when the settlers decided to move west and take more Indian land they found the Indians beginning to resent the influx of white settlers, thus conflicts between the Indians and Whites over land became more frequent causing changes of attitudes between the Indian and European.

As time progressed and the settlers became more "civilized," government attempts to break the eternal warring deadlock between Indian and white man became increasingly fruitless. The liberal sentiments of a small band of intelligentsia were not sufficient to counteract the already hardened character of the new Anglo-American who was driving ever westward in pursuit of his dream of tranquility with Mother Earth.

Where the Indian is concerned, the history of the nineteenth century in the West is a catalogue of bitterness. For all the glamour of defiance, and the many fighting heroes of his peoples, the reality is shabby despair, marked by the broken pledges, fraudulent treaties and callous logic of the white men who came and offered but two alternatives--confinement or extermination. In spite of this the Indian persisted in treating the white man as his equal, in taking him at his word and trusting in the promises of the Great White Father in Washington, and yet, up to 1868, almost 400 treaties had been nothing more than instruments to prize him from his territory, real estate deals designed to take away the best land and leave him with the worst. It was the poorest land, often totally unusable, that became the reservations in which he was finally penned. He had no space to move or think. The tent of his dreams had been carried away by the gale of avarice that had swept the continent; he had lost his spirit; and his beliefs had no currency in the New World.

In Cherokee mythology the story of "The Pretty Colored Snake," tells the Indian version of the conquest of the Americas:

"A long time ago there was a famous hunter who used to go all around hunting and always brought something good to eat when he came home. One day he was going home with some birds that he had shot, and he saw a little snake by the side of the trail. It was a beautifully colored snake with all pretty colors all over it, and it looked friendly too. The hunter stopped and watched it for awhile. He thought it might be hungry, so he threw it one of his birds before he went home. A few weeks later he was coming by the same place with some rabbits he had shot, and he saw the snake again. It was still very beautiful and seemed friendly, it had grown quite a bit. He threw it a rabbit and said "Hello" as he went on home.

Sometime after that the hunter saw the snake again, it had grown very big, but it was still friendly and seemed to be hungry. The hunter was taking some turkeys home with him, so he stopped and gave the snake a turkey.

Then one time the hunter was going home with two buck deer on his back. By this time that pretty colored snake was very big and looked so hungry that the hunter felt sorry for him and gave him a whole buck to eat. When he got home he heard that the people were going to have a stomp dance. All the Nighthawks came, and that night they were going around the fire, dancing and singing the old songs, when the snake came and started going around too, outside of where the people were dancing. That snake was so big and long that he stretched all around the people and the people were penned up. The snake was covered all over with all pretty colors and he seemed friendly; but he looked hungry too, and the people began to be afraid.

They told some of the boys to get their bows and arrows and shoot the snake. Then the boys got their bows. They all shot together and they hit the snake all right. That snake was hurt. He thrashed his tail all around and killed a lot of people.

They say that snake was just like the white man.

It is the Indians devotion to tradition that has contributed to the failure of all Indian movements to succeed. Instead of uniting in a common cause, as other minorities, the Indian divides into separate tribal units, thus prohibiting the oneness of spirit that is essential to any successful campaign.

The two leading Indian organizations, the National Congress of American Indians and the League of Nations-Pan Am Indians, have opposite points of view. The league advocates tribal government by traditional means, while the NCAI support the tribal council as organized under federal laws. Their one common denominator is an aversion to paternalism.

The Indian lives on approximately two hundred reservations throughout the United States, land that for the most part no one else would have. As for housing, nearly eighty-five percent of reservation Indians live in tin-roofed shacks, brush shelters, adobe huts, and even abandoned automobiles. Almost sixty percent of these Indians must haul water to their homes, frequently more than a mile. The average income of an Indian family is about thirty dollars per week. Unemployment on the reservation is usually eight to ten times the national average. The present standard of living among the American Indians ranges from poor to extremely poor. Yet if the money spent annually for the Bureau of Indian Affairs and governmental agencies working with Indians were divided up among Indians themselves, every Indian would receive \$4,000 or more. (Figure taken from Dick Gregory's book, "No More Lies," para 57)

What about the quality of education for the only native American? By in large it is also a nation disgrace. Under the auspices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the typical Indian School is taught by a white teacher, Indian language is never spoken and often forbidden, and Indian culture is not a part of the curriculum. Any history that is presented is the white man's version, in which of course, the Indian has traditionally been the villain. In one reservation classroom the Chippewa students are told to write a composition. Their topic is scrawled out in a chalk on the blackboard: "Why we are all happy the Pilgrims landed." Is it any wonder that the drop out rate among Indians is 60 percent, more than twice the national average. The average years of schooling among reservation Indians is 5.5 years. The Bureau of Indian Affairs spends only \$18.00 per year per child on textbooks and supplies, compared with a national average of \$40.00.

Is it very difficult to understand what the Indians goals of today are? They are not that far out of reach, but are simple and readily within reach. First, the white man must modify his views of the Indian as either the "noble" Red man pictured on the nickel, or an uncivilized savage. Both views are childishly unrealistic and damaging to the Indian cause. Second, the Indian cause itself must subscribe to a national tribal organization acceptable to the numerous tribes, which would then attain the needed momentum to make meaningful changes in the existing governmental policies. And third, the Indian must be educated. By reconciling the important traditional culture with a modern curriculum on the elementary and secondary level, the result would be well adjusted individuals capable of assuming college level work with optimum competency.

The above were taken from an article written by W. Red Sky Schuchman for Mankind Magazine, Volume 3, Number 8, a young American Indian scholar who knows first hand many of the problems of being an Indian in America.

It is clear the Indian needs governmental cooperation far more than he needs or desires massive governmental spending. The Indian is eager to assume his rightful place in society, but this will never be achieved through the old governmental goal of destruction of the reservations and total assimilation. The Indian, being the first American, cannot be expected to ignore his own traditions for the sake of what he still considers "foreigners."

Clearly, it is only when the government decides to work with the Indian, rather than against him, that meaningful progress will be achieved.

WHAT

DO

ASIANS

WANT?

A Study by

The Defense Race Relation Institute

Patrick Air Force Base, Florida

WHAT DO ASIANS WANT?

Although individuals may speak of Asian people of the Asian community, it should be recognized that there are many different groups of Asians in the United States. Each of these has its own history, its own culture, its own experience with life in America, and its own social problems.

Until recently, Asians as an ethnic minority group have received very little attention from social work. As a result of the recent attention, many people are asking "What do Asians want?" After all "Asians do not seem to have the problems of the blacks and Chicanos, so what could the Asians possibly want?" This paper addresses itself to that query.

THE IMMENSE JOURNEY TO THE "GOLDEN MOUNTAIN"

The history of the Asian people represents an immense journey over time compared to the minuscule slice of history that is the Asian experience in America. Although it is impossible to recount the complete history of the Asian people, it is important to recognize that the Asians have a fabulously rich culture and a highly developed civilization dating back to the Neolithic period. Since that time, the Asian civilization has evolved and made great contributions in art, science, and literature. Perhaps it was the contrast between Oriental and Occidental cultures that was the basis for the problems faced by the Asian immigrants. Western civilization's attitude of white supremacy was certainly a major factor in producing many of the problems.

Asian contact with the Western world dates back to the fifth century when the Chinese knew of a land called "Fusang"--the Pacific Coast of North America. The first Asians to have contact with North America were a group of Japanese who traveled to Mexico City with a Spanish party in about 1613. However, it was not until about 1850 that the first large group of Asians immigrated to the United States. This group of Asians were the Chinese who came to America in search of the "Golden Mountain," the Chinese name of California. They brought with them the legacy of four thousand years of their unique culture and great civilization, and this was to affect everything that they and their descendants were to experience in America.

AMERICAN RACISM IN ACTION: THE ASIAN EXPERIENCE

Daniels and Kitano indicate that the roots of American racism were founded in the doctrine of white supremacy brought to America by the European immigrants. According to the Daniels and Kitano "two-category" system of racial stratification--derived from the white supremacy doctrine--whites and nonwhites are separated by certain boundaries. This system, based on the premise that all whites are superior to nonwhites, is easily implemented because of physical visibility based primarily on skin color that allows for quick differentiation and discrimination of nonwhites. In short, the "two-category system" is maintained by five different racial boundaries maintaining activity on the part of the white majority: prejudice, discrimination, segregation, isolation, exclusion, and genocide. The Asian in America has experienced all of these.

The nature of Asian immigration to the Pacific Coast of America was quite different from the western movement of Europeans to the New World. Park explained the difference as follows: "It is as if we had said: Europe, of which after all America is a mere western projection, ends here. The Pacific Coast is our racial frontier." The essentially light-skinned immigrants of Europe, though they each met problems with racial discrimination, had a significantly different experience than that of the Asian immigrants. The physical characteristics of European immigrants made the process of acculturation and assimilation much easier.

The sentiment against Asians on the West Coast, particularly in California, was based upon the ideas of white supremacy, fear, ignorance, the perceived threat to jobs, and the economic security of those Asians already there. As a result, the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, the first exclusion act ever passed in this country, was to prevent Chinese immigration. In most instances, American Legislation against Asian immigration throughout the Pacific area has "taken the form of rigid legal

prohibitions, setting the people of Asia sharply apart from those of Europe and America. In each instance also, the prohibition has been based directly, emphatically, and explicitly on so-called racial considerations, thereby creating a situation which was certain to provoke, sooner or later, strenuous countermeasures. In the Atlantic, the Symbol of our policy was the Open Door; in the Pacific, the Yellow Peril."

The Naturalization Act of 1870 excluded the Chinese from naturalization although it did allow for the naturalization of the black man. After the passage of the Exclusion Act of 1882, there were many instances of rioting, property damage, and, in fact, genocide. In 1892, the Geary Act was passed to continue the prohibition against Chinese immigration for another ten years, deny bail to Chinese in habeas corpus cases, and require certificates of residence at the risk of deportation if the certificates were not obtained. In 1902, Congress "indefinitely extended the prohibition against Chinese immigration and the denial of naturalization", and, in 1924, an immigration act was passed that made it impossible for American citizens of Chinese ancestry to bring their alien wives into America, thus separating families and ensuring an unequal sex ratio among the resident Chinese. This obviously affected the birth rate and was considered to be a form of genocide. Similar to the "Southern Strategy" of today, all of these various anti-Chinese immigration measures were enacted just before national elections for the purpose of gaining the support of the racists.

In summary, the Chinese people who came to America were met with tremendous opposition, hostility, and ignorance. The issue of Chinese immigration in the United States has been inextricably interwoven with political ambitions, party power struggles, and the craziest of racial bigotry. It should be recognized that it was not only the Chinese who suffered, for America eventually lost international respect as well as the contributions these Chinese could have made to the country. President Theodore Roosevelt indicated the price America had to pay for its own bigotry: "In its effort to carry out the policy of excluding Chinese laborers, grave injustice and wrong have been done by this nation to the people of China, and therefore ultimately to this nation itself."

The Japanese had the misfortune of coming to America as a group just after the Chinese were excluded by the Exclusion Act of 1882. Therefore, much of the anti-Chinese sentiment in California was shifted directly to the newer Japanese immigrant. It was not until 1884 when the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association encouraged Japan to send immigrants to Hawaii to work in the Hawaiian plantation that Japanese immigrants were allowed to leave Japan. In 1906 the San Francisco board of education, under the control of the union labor party, began agitation for Japanese exclusion. The school segregation ordinance of 1905 against Japanese children was enforced. This action was the precipitating incident that disrupted U.S. Japanese international relations. On March 14, 1907:

President Roosevelt stopped further Japanese immigration from Mexico, Canada and Hawaii by executive order and, at the same time, negotiated the Gentlemen's Agreement. Appeased by these actions, the San Francisco school board agreed not to enforce the ordinance.

However, racist attitudes in America pushed ahead to the complete elimination of Japanese immigration by means of the Exclusionary Immigration Act of 1924. California took steps in 1913 and 1920 to prevent Asians particularly the Japanese, from acquiring land by adopting the Alien Land Act. Much of the hostile feelings toward the Japanese were related to international issues between Japan and other countries (Sino-Japanes War in 1937) which raised anxieties in America. All of these things contributed to the imprisonment of Japanese people in concentration camps shortly after Pearl Harbor in December, 1941.

The Little Tokyo enclaves that the Japanese formed were the result of social and economic barriers imposed by the larger society. It was a matter of survival. The main reasons that these settlements occurred were due to barriers against Asians in white business establishments, the trade unions, the Alien Land Acts which made it impossible for the Japanese to expand their agricultural efforts, and the denial of the right of citizenship by naturalization.

Most people in America are aware of the experiences that the Japanese had in the "relocation camps" in World War II; however, the facts about the relocation decision and most of the underlying dynamics are not nearly as well understood. For example, some of the main agitators for the internment of the Japanese included the Western Growers Protective Association, the Grower-Shipper Vegetable Association, the Associated Farmers, and the California Farm Bureau, all of which had a

vested economic interest in wiping out the Japanese agricultural industry in California. Many civic and community organizations such as the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce had a vested interest in seeing that Japanese merchants were dispossessed. The American Legion and the Native Sons of the Golden West felt that they were merely doing their patriotic duty by removing the Japanese from society. Many of these groups supported the idea of not only removing the Japanese from the West Coast but also preventing them from returning once the war was over. In short, the World War II Relocation was:

"Not the product of wartime hysteria; it was the logical end-product, the goal, of a strategy of dominance which began forty years earlier and which was closely related to American dominance in the Pacific."

Just as the Japanese were imported to Hawaii and California on the heels of Chinese exclusion, the Filipinos were imported to Hawaii and the mainland of the United States as a source of cheap labor on the heels of the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907 which restricted Japanese immigration. The Philippines were acquired by virtue of outright American imperialism in 1898. It was not until significant numbers of Filipinos started to immigrate to the West Coast--about 1920--that Anti-Filipino agitation began. At that time there was legislation in Congress which threatened to cut off the supply of cheap labor from Mexico, resulting in the recruitment of Filipinos by the agricultural industry. Most of the Filipinos who came to America after 1920 were young males without families. They were restricted to performing menial and unskilled jobs at very low wages, under the control of employers who were often unscrupulous and overtly racist. The Filipinos encountered many of the same barriers as did the Asian immigrants who preceded them; they were exploited and abused and economically tied to agriculture. The labor contractors encouraged gambling to keep the Filipinos in debt and enforce their economic bondage.

In the urban centers the Filipinos were restricted to establishments run by their own people and were held in contempt by many individuals and organizations in the larger society. For example, the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce described the Filipino as the "most worthless, unscrupulous, shiftless, diseased, semi-barbarians that ever came to our shores." As early as 1928, legislative attempts were made to bar immigration from the Philippines. Anti-Filipino race riots occurred in Yakima, Washington on September 19, 1928, and other riots were reported in Tulare, California, Hood River, Oregon, and other places on the West Coast.

Prior to the Philippine Independence, Filipinos were considered "wards" of the United States government and under certain circumstances had the status of "American citizen." Technically however, the Filipino was neither an alien nor a citizen and, in order to prevent free immigration to America by these wards, the Philippines were granted independence. The Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934 gave the Philippine Islands independence and an immigration quota of fifty persons per year. Although Filipinos were required to register as aliens under the Alien Registration Act of 1940, many of them were drafted during World War II and fought for America in segregated Filipino battalions.

Manuel Bauken points out the racist exploitation that Filipino immigrants experienced:

Where is the heart of America? I am one of many thousands of young men born under the American flag, raised as a loyal, idealistic American under your promises for equality for all and enticed by glowing tales of educational opportunities. Once here, we are greeted only by gamblers and prostitutes, taught only the worst in your civilization. America came to us with bright-winged promises of liberty, equality, fraternity. What has become of them?

THE MYTH OF THE AMERICAN DREAM--ASIAN STYLE

The "American Dream" of open access to liberty and freedom was clearly not meant to apply to Asians. Unfortunately, the Asian is currently a very important "pawn" in the racist strategy that is on-going in the United States today. Racism in America often seeks to legitimate itself, however, unsuccessfully, by holding out the Asian as proof that democracy and equality are alive and well in America and thereby denying the existence of racial problems. Many Asians feel that they occupy the status of the "house nigger" in the hierarchy of racism in America. Alan Nishio says that Asians are a

highly visible ethnic minority that has "made it," that is, he has worked hard and has not been a threat to the Establishment. As a result, Orientals are often used as a buffer by the Establishment in the confrontation between racial groups. . . . Because Orientals have

no power of their own, they feel themselves in a highly vulnerable position. Because of their comfortable economic status, Orientals feel that they must defend the system. They act as the "well fed" houseboys of the Establishment, defending the plantation from the "lowly" field slaves.

The Asian who is caught up in this is contributing to his own demise, but it is the major responsibility of the larger society to take immediate corrective action.

Yellow is not white and white is not right. Let us get this straight. There is no way yellow is white. Every aspect of the Asian experience bears out this truth. Appeasement is not equal participation in our society. Tokenism is not and has never been equality. Cultural pluralism has been forced upon Asians and many Asians are having to go through the agonizing process of establishing their own personal identities, under conditions they should not have to endure. A cry for "Yellow Power" is the cry for "freedom from racial oppression through the power of consolidated Yellow people." However, there is of course no complete unanimity of sentiment, and there are many unanswered questions for the Asian person, and for some the major problem is an internal, personal one. The insidious process of pitting one ethnic minority against another is for many Asians a kind of malignant tumor that needs to be excised. To be a "token" and a "pawn" in this society as a "marginal" man is a terrible experience in itself. It can be a terribly painful, mind bending, stress producing struggle, agonizing over one's identity and the need to deal with the feelings produced. The crisis for identity is probably exemplified by the many programs that have recently been established for Asian Studies. These programs address themselves to the problems of Asian persons in America as they attempt to understand more fully their own unique identity and the nature of the contribution they wish to make to American society. This is a particular crisis of the Asian intellectual. There are at least fifteen Asian Studies programs in California from the state college at Dominguez Hills south of Los Angeles to the state college at Sacramento to the North. The courses that these programs offered range from generalized Asian-American courses, such as Asian-American Communities and the Urban Crisis, to more ethnically specific courses such as The Chinese in America, The Japanese-American: A Social and Psychological Profile, and Filipino Community Workshop. These Asian Studies Centers have recently formed the Asian Studies Central which will help coordinate and strengthen the various Asian studies programs throughout California, as well as in other parts of the United States.

The Nisei (second generation Japanese) had their own way of coping with these kinds of problems, and their efforts were mainly focused upon nonviolent, passive methods of making social gains. Part of the task is again internal. Stanford Lyman indicates that many Japanese chose to model their behavior after the samurai who had strict control over their emotions. As a result, the Nisei became "quite, self-controlled, detached; he suppressed emotions, tensions and fears; he entered into situations but did not become a part of them. According to Dr. Lyman, this style of accommodation is becoming a "liability in our society." He indicated that the lack of expressiveness on the part of the Nisei stands in the way of employment advancement. In addition, their quiescence tends to make them "conservative" and increases the moral dilemma of remaining quiet during the times when their opinions should be made known. However, the Nisei's values and methods to achieve equality in American Society are no longer considered to be effective and relevant and many young Asians feel that a new pasture must be taken in order for further social gains to be made.

The struggle for a meaningful identity is at the crux of the Asian's problem. George Woo of San Francisco State College says of Asian Studies:

The idea . . . is to rediscover our identity rather than to merge with white Anglo-Saxon Americans. We think it has been too long that people in academic circles think about Asian Studies strictly in terms of foreign countries. We want to reclaim America in terms of the Chinese, Japanese and Filipino in America. I'm not sure present studies aren't relevant but they don't seem to involve the students. Our goal isn't to teach people to be Asian experts but to prepare them to go back to their communities to be leaders.

As the concept of the Asian identity crystallizes, many problems become more apparent--"The lesson that is being taught to the Chinese by other ethnic groups in the United States is very clear. To become an American, the Chinese must recognize the fact that he is colored. To be colored is to be taken for a black man, a Chicano, to be a chink."

The question of identity for Filipinos is even more complicated by the fact that they are not necessarily regarded as "typical Orientals" and certainly not Anglo-Caucasians. In some instances, Filipinos find themselves classified as Asians and at other times not. Filipinos are not classified in population and census data as Filipinos or Asians but rather by "Spanish surnames" and are not given appropriate recognition. It seems apparent that Asians suffer the disadvantage of being either overly recognized in a stereotyped, stigmatized way, or inadequately recognized as a distinct ethnic group in the population.

The myth of the American Dream as illustrated by the Asian experience not only involves the problems of identity and recognition imposed by the majority society but includes the myth that all Asians are affluent. Most Asians are believed to have too much money to be considered in the "poverty" category, yet many live in extreme poverty. As has been mentioned earlier, part of the Asian problem is that the majority of society believes that Asians do not have problems and, in some cases, that Asians do not even constitute a minority group. Although there are some Asians who feel that they do not represent a disadvantaged ethnic minority, it is my opinion that most Asians would agree that they are not only a minority group, but suffer, at least to some extent, from that status at the hands of the racist processes in this country.

Assimilation is not desirable to all Asians and, if it is to be acceptable at all, it will require mutual acceptance of individuals in the minority and majority cultures. That has not happened with Asians and I do not think it will until society can look at an Asian person and not have Charlie Chan, bucked-toothed-Kamikaze pilots, Communists, Korean soldiers, Madame Butterfly, Suzy Wong, and the like triggered instantaneously in their minds.

DO ASIANS HAVE PROBLEMS?

Since they reached America, Asians have had problems above and beyond those encountered by European immigrants. The Immigration Act of 1965, which repealed the quota system based on national origin, has greatly increased the number of new Asian immigrants arriving in the United States. These new immigrants have great difficulties because of their language and employment problems. Many of the recent immigrants from the Philippines are professionals, but, due to language difficulties and discrimination, these professionals find themselves unemployed or relegated to jobs that waste their talent and training. Chinatown in San Francisco is probably one of the worst places to live in the United States. Its population density is second only to that of Manhattan. Almost 70 percent of its housing is "substandard"--over three times the rate for the rest of San Francisco. The rate of unemployment among Chinese male adults in the area is almost twice the city-wide average. The average Chinese person over 25 years of age living in Chinatown has less than two years of formal education as compared to the city-wide average of over twelve years. There are approximately 3,000 non-unionized garment workers in Chinatown, many of whom work ten to twelve hours a day for less than \$1.00 an hour. In 1960, one-third of the families in the area earned less than \$4,000 dollars per year. Finally, over 21 percent of the deaths in Chinatown are caused by tuberculosis, three times the rate for the rest of the city. The incidence of suicide is very high. Though the statistics are alarming, they do not begin to indicate the tragedy of the human experiences that go on day by day under those conditions. The problems of San Francisco's Chinatown are probably applicable to the Chinatowns and Little Tokyos elsewhere. Many Asians are poor. Filipinos have the lowest annual income of any ethnic group in California. The average annual income of about 150,000 Filipinos is \$2,925 as compared with \$3,553 for blacks, \$3,803 for Chinese, \$3,849 for Spanish-surname persons, \$4,388 for Japanese, and \$5,109 for Caucasians.

Royal Morales points out that one of the problems of the Filipino is his feeling of pride, or "hiya." As with other Asian groups, it is a cultural constraint that often prevents Asians from seeking aid from social services, particularly public assistance. The "Old Timers" in the Filipino community are often in great need for public assistance through Old Age Security and medical benefits but are unaware of resources or are hesitant to apply.

Many elderly Asians are in need of a variety of social services. The International Hotel in San Francisco, where many elderly Filipinos reside, is an example of one of the most acute circumstances of poverty, sickness, landlord abuse, and exploitation.

The problems of youth are illustrated by the growing turmoil in San Francisco's Chinatown, where Chinese youth are not only rebelling against the oppression of white society, but also against the older Chinese generation. Filipino youth have a tendency to drop out of school for economic and other reasons and there is increasing concern about the rise of delinquent gang activity and drug abuse.

In Los Angeles, an Asian group called the Yellow Brotherhood (YB) is one of the many self-help, youth organizations that has emerged to deal with the current problems of Asian youth. There are many Asian groups now that are offering youth services, but the YB is one of the oldest of these organizations and has focused much of its attention on the problems of drug abuse among Asian youth.

Problems in getting an education are increasing for many Asian youth. Recently the Educational Opportunities Program has emphasized the Asian in its program to assist students who have the desire and motivation to continue their education but do not have the academic standing or economic resources to do so. A Filipino organization, SIPA (Search to Involve Philippine-Americans), deals with helping Filipino youth with the basic problems of education and socialization. SIPA focuses upon community involvement in identifying problems and finding solutions among Filipinos, youth activities and leadership training, and cultural awareness.

The many problems that Asians encounter from day to day cannot be enumerated in this paper. However, there have been several recent issues that illustrate the many years in which Asians encountered discrimination.

The local welfare department in Los Angeles neglected and overlooked, Asian clients by originally refusing to hire an Asian Community Liaison Coordinator and an appropriate number of bilingual Asian staff. Under pressure from Asians in the community, the department conceded that about twenty bilingual workers were needed in nine district offices and hired an Asian Community Liaison Coordinator. The Los Angeles Chinatown area was also denied much-needed psychiatric services by a psychiatric hospital adjacent to the Chinese community. The hospital is federally funded to serve the Chinese people but it has refused to hire bilingual staff so their services would be made available to Chinatown. The hospital is being sued by the Asian-American Civil Rights Union. In another recent situation, the United Way agency of Los Angeles has denied the funding request of the Japanese-American Community Services agency for drug abuse prevention programs. The Little Tokyo (Los Angeles) community always met its United Way quota but was turned down in one of its initial requests. Future United Way fund drives appealing to all Asians will undoubtedly be affected.

Although there are many organizations that have been formed to help Asians, the organization that has involved the most Asian social workers (both Non-MSW and MSW) in Southern California is the Asian-American Social Workers (AASW) organization in Los Angeles. AASW was formed approximately two years ago as a result of the "Title II" Internal Securities Act issue and the celebrated case of Los Angeles County Coroner Dr. Thomas Noguchi who was, at that time, in the process of being removed from his job by county officials (he was later fully reinstated with all charges dropped). AASW was formed in response to a growing awareness of the Asian people's need for more and better community services of all kinds. Some of the organization's efforts have been focused upon voluntary community service, but much of its input has been in terms of communication action. When the need existed to have more bilingual Asian social workers in the local public welfare agency, AASW was the principal organization involved in seeing that the changes and improvements occurred. In addition, AASW was instrumental in recruiting Asian students for graduate social work programs in the Los Angeles area. AASW has worked very closely with social service agencies such as the Japanese-American Community Services, Asian-American Hard Core, Pioneer Project (Senior Citizens Club) and some of the various Asian Studies Centers in the Los Angeles area, that are supported by the Asian people. AASW has worked very closely with the Oriental Service Center which is funded via the local OEO office, United Way, and the Council of Oriental Organizations. The Oriental Service Center is the only agency in Los Angeles that has bilingual Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, and Samoan caseworkers. The growth of AASW is an indication of the increasing awareness on the part of Asian social workers that a united effort and aggressive action is required to help individuals effectively as well as to stimulate systemic change in many social institutions.

In addition to the pervasive problems precipitated by racial discrimination, traditional Asian family customs are being lost with each succeeding generation. The continuing flow of new immigrants find no welcome and few opportunities for a livelihood due to language and educational deficiencies. Problems among Asian "war brides" are on the increase and the needs of Asian senior citizens are among the most critical.

IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION

In an effort to get some feedback from Asians regarding the Asian experience and its implications for social work education, I administered a written questionnaire schedule to a small group of potential Asian MSW students, first and second-year MSW students, the MSW alumni. Their responses in part indicate that the majority of students and alumni agree that changes need to be made in order to make a MSW program more relevant to them as Asians. The first-year MSW students most wanted change to occur in terms of their field placements, that is, the arrangements for the placements and their satisfaction with the experience, more effective instructors, and a more "relevant" curriculum. Second-year MSW students wanted changes in classes that they considered "weak," changes in "poor" faculty, and more emphasis on the study of minorities. The alumni group expressed the desire for change in terms of a greater emphasis upon ethnic minorities, a flexible program that would allow for more innovation, and the hiring of more Asian faculty. The respondents who felt that being Asian was a hindrance during the MSW program pointed out that stereotyping was the main problem. The majority of both students and alumni felt that there was evidence of institutional racism in their programs because of the schools' lack of "concern" for ethnic groups, lack of awareness of Asian community problems, and stereotyping of Asian students. When MSW students and the alumni were asked how significant changes could best be achieved, the response was that students and ethnic communities would have to organize and put pressure on the "educational establishment." The acquisition of more Asian faculty, better field placements, and the recruitment of more Asian graduate students were considered important.

WHERE DO WE BEGIN?

Initial steps in the direction of resolving the problems of ethnic minorities with respect to social work education have already been taken in some instances. However, these initial steps are not sufficient because the needs of ethnic minorities are far from being resolved, even in terms of what social work education is potentially able to do in that regard. It is important to bear in mind that in order to be realistic, we have to judge our accomplishments not on the basis of how much we have done relative to what has been done before or what has been done by others, but rather by the extent to which the actual needs are being met. Coming to grips with the problems of ethnic minorities is going to mean radical change for CSWE and Schools of Social work. It may mean that vested interests in projects, specific curriculum content, and that the jobs of certain faculty members have to be eliminated in order to make way for these changes. Unless the necessary sacrifices and commitments to the effort of ameliorating racism can be made, social work education will clearly be part of the problem rather than part of the solution. Many Asians are very impatient with unresponsive social institutions and if they cannot get the quality education they want from social work, they will get it somewhere else. I believe it is on this pivotal issue of ethnic minorities that the "soul" of social work and social work education hinges. It is the ethics, values, and integrity of social work that is at stake in this single issue.

Loren Eiseley, the eminent scholar and educator, said that "The educator can be the withholder as well as the giver of life." Let us see how much individual social work educators can give by their personal commitment to human welfare in the fight against institutional racism. Personal commitment to this end demonstrated by their support of the Asian cause, as well as the cause of all other ethnic minorities, is presently the most significant step that can be taken toward the realization of the goals of social work education. In doing so, social work education will have contributed meaningfully to the prevention of acute and potentially explosive social conditions among Asians, and racial tranquility among all Americans, if not it will have failed to live up to the values and ethics on which it was founded.

THE HOSTAGE JAPANESE

"No Question of our time," wrote Frederick McCormick in *The Menace of Japan* (1917), "can vie in importance with that of the contact of alien races and systems on the Pacific Slope. It is, more than anything else, an indication of the swift development of the Pacific." The principal area of contact was in California. In Hawaii people came together but systems did not collide; competition took place but under circumstances in which the Anglo-Americans were an alien minority for many years. The tensions that developed in California represented sharp and basic conflicts and the pattern of relationships that emerged there foreshadowed the emergence of a similar pattern in Oregon and Washington, in Alaska and Peru. Indeed the course of events in California from an early date was widely and correctly interpreted as foreshadowing a future conflict between the United States and Japan.

THE TIME AND THE PLACE

Although Commodore Perry liked to think of his expedition to Japan as being the completion of the voyage of Columbus, it merely represented the resumption of an early relationship. As traders in the South Pacific, the Japanese had come in contact with the Spaniards from the New World in the latter part of the sixteenth century. Japanese embassies had proceeded to Mexico in 1610 to study the conditions of trade. The *Mayflower* had not yet arrived and the back door to the North American continent was wide open, but the Japanese withdrew in 1638 to a seclusion that prevailed until Perry's visit in 1854. Japanese castaways, however, had reached our shores before diplomatic relations were established between Japan and the United States. Commodore Perry's interpreter owed his knowledge of Japanese to a castaway named Sentaro who was a member of the expedition.

The event that unlocked the doors of Japan was, of course, the discovery of gold in California. The letter that Perry carried to Japan stated that "... California produces about sixty millions of dollars in gold every year, besides silver, quicksilver, precious stones, and many other valuable articles" -- new wealth which, as President Fillmore explained, we were eager to use as the basis of trade. The rapidly developing clipper trade also made it imperative that our ships put in at Japanese ports for repairs and provisions. In fact the discovery of gold in California and the opening of Japan to Occidental influences were historically simultaneous and closely related events.

Historically Japan had been opposed to the emigration of its people; from 1638 to 1854 emigration had been punishable by death. In the same period, also, the building of oceangoing boats had been forbidden by imperial decree to make certain that Japan preserved her policy of isolation. The policy was finally reversed at the behest of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association in 1884 and the Japanese began to migrate, first to Hawaii, and later to Canada, the United States, and South America. By 1890 there were 2039 Japanese in the United States and by 1900 the number has increased to 24,236 and by 1910 to 72,157. The first Japanese immigrants in California came by way of Hawaii, but after a few years many came directly from Japan.

It is doubtful if any immigrant group ever settled in America under more unfavorable international circumstances than those which attended the settlement of the Japanese in California. Immigrants began to arrive in large numbers at precisely the moment when Japan began to loom large as a great power in the Pacific. Japanese immigration, therefore, came to be associated with the rise of Japanese nationalism. Rapidly developing a great-power complex, Japan was quick to resent discrimination against its nationals on the West Coast of the United States. To the Californians, on the other hand, these nationals appeared as the spearhead of an actual invasion and this uneasiness steadily increased as Japanese nationalism became more aggressive. Over a period of years, moreover, Japanese militarists cleverly exploited the discrimination against Japanese immigrants in California for domestic political purposes.

If Japanese immigration was badly timed, its direction was still more unfortunate. Out of 126,947 Japanese in the United States in 1940, 112,353 resided in Oregon, Washington, and California (99.6 per cent of the total). Of those on the West Coast, 93,717, or 73.8 per cent, resided in California; in fact the concentration of Japanese in California, and within one area of the state (Los Angeles County), had steadily increased over a period of years. In 1900 California was primarily rural; its institutions were newly formed and hastily conceived; its social heritage was largely that of a mining frontier; and its population exhibited many evidences of the insecurity which seems to beset marginal or peripheral

areas of settlement. "Where there is a rapidly expanding population," writes Dr. Forrest E. LaViolette, "with no established social organization for distributing economic gain, the struggle for political control, for economic power, and for social prestige soon gives rise to individual feelings of not getting one's share, of having to watch carefully 'the other fellow' and other groups." Paradoxically it is the peripheral frontier province, not the established and crowded center of population, that seems to be most susceptible to the disease of xenophobia.

Almost from the moment of their arrival, the Japanese were caught in the crossfire of previous anti-Oriental agitations. Racial myths and ideologies dating from earlier agitations were quickly extended to them. "The forces," writes Ruth E. McKee, "that had accomplished the exclusion of the Chinese had developed legends, techniques, and arguments which with little editing could be turned against the Japanese. Politicians and pressure groups had served their apprenticeship in the anti-Chinese crusade. By the turn of the century these veterans were ready to launch a new offensive." And no sooner had the Japanese arrived in California than the first tensions appeared in the relations between Japan and the United States. From 1900 to 1941, Japanese immigrants in California were in effect hostages or pawns in a great-power competition for the dominance of the Pacific, a vast area of which California was but a province.

Although agitation against the Japanese dated almost from the moment of their arrival--the first anti-Japanese mass meeting was held in San Francisco on May 7, 1900--it should be noted that racial and cultural differences did not produce hostile attitudes in the first meetings between Japanese and Americans. Actually the Japanese castaways--the first Japanese to reach America--were "petted and exhibited and made much of." A child castaway, Hikoza Hamada, became a protégé of the collector of customs at San Francisco and was presented to President Pierce who offered him an appointment to West Point. Under the name of Joseph Heco, Hamada acquired citizenship by naturalization on June 30, 1858--proof that officials did not then regard Japanese blood as a bar to naturalization. The friendly reception given these first Japanese arrivals completely belies the notion that racial and cultural differences are in themselves a source of conflict. The plain fact is that when they begin to arrive in California in significant numbers, the Japanese were quickly drawn into a vacuum which then existed in the labor market. As long as they filled this vacuum, they were welcomed even by the racists; the trouble began when these perverse Oriental immigrants began to act like other immigrants and sought to prove their lot.

YEARS OF THE YELLOW PERIL

The California-Japanese War began on February 23, 1905--on the eve of the siege of Mukden--when the San Francisco Chronical published the first of a sensational series of articles on the Japanese in California. It should be noted, however, that the hostile sentiment which these articles reflected was not entirely restricted to California: all America began to be apprehensive about Japan after the Russo-Japanese War. With the appearance of the Chronical articles, which were widely interpreted as the opening blast in a general campaign, both houses of the California legislature unanimously adopted a resolution urging Congress to exclude the Japanese. By this time, the Chinese had already been excluded so that the anti-Oriental sentiment could be shifted exclusively to the Japanese. "The Chinese," the Chronical has observed, "are faithful laborers and do not buy land. The Japanese are unfaithful laborers and do buy land." At the outset, however, Californians were by no means united in their opposition to Japanese immigration. The large farmers welcomed Japanese immigration; the businessmen generally approved of it; and the agitation stemmed pretty largely from the trade-unions and the chronic anti-Oriental elements.

In the fall of 1906, the San Francisco Board of Education--the city administration was then controlled by the Union Labor Party--suddenly decided to enforce an ordinance, adopted the previous year, calling for the segregation of Oriental children in a separate school. At that time there were only 93 Japanese children of school age in San Francisco, which had a school population of 25,000. Indeed the sponsors of the action never bothered to conceal the fact that their real intention was to launch an agitation which would culminate in the exclusion of further Japanese immigration. A minor motivation was also to be found in the desire of Mayor Eugene E. Schmitz to divert public attention from his notoriously corrupt administration; he was indicted almost simultaneously with the decision of the School Board to enforce the ordinance.

In the context of events, the School Board's action was highly, and intentionally, provocative. Japan had just emerged victorious from the Russo-Japanese War and, a few months earlier, had contributed handsomely to the relief of San Francisco in the wake of the earthquake and fire of April 18. Word of the School Board's action touched off a wave of resentment in Japan. Protests were promptly lodged in Washington and President Theodore Roosevelt, denouncing the ordinance as "a wicked absurdity," ordered the Attorney General to bring suit in the courts to enjoin its enforcement. The suit never came to trial, however, for on March 14, 1907, President Roosevelt stopped further Japanese immigration from Mexico, Canada, and Hawaii by executive order and, at the same time, negotiated the Gentlemen's Agreement. Appeased by these actions, the San Francisco School Board agreed not to enforce the ordinance.

Discussion of the School Board "incident" in Congress revealed how closely the Japanese question was related to the Negro question. By and large, Southern senators and congressmen were in complete sympathy with their California colleagues. Said a Mississippi statesman: "I stand with the State of California in opposition to mixed schools. I stand with Californians in favor of the proposition that we want a homogeneous and assimilable population of white people in the Republic." As a matter of fact, President Roosevelt was forced to back down on the suits to enjoin enforcement of the San Francisco ordinance because he discovered, first, that Congress would not support him; and, second, that the Supreme Court's decisions nullifying the Civil War amendments to the Constitution had made it impossible for the federal government to protect the rights not only of Japanese aliens but of Japanese citizens in California.

The ink was hardly dry on the signatures to the Gentlemen's Agreement when the California racists began screaming about one major loophole: the importation of so-called Japanese "picture brides." Women constituted only 4 per cent of the resident Japanese population in 1900; but, since women could enter as picture brides under the Gentlemen's Agreement, the number rapidly increased after 1907. As the sex ratio came into some sort of balance--women made up 34 per cent of the population by 1920--the number of native-born Japanese children naturally increased, a circumstance which filled the Californians with fear and foreboding. Seeing that the status quo achieved by the Gentlemen's Agreement was being threatened, the resident Japanese voluntarily petitioned the Japanese government to deny further passports to Japanese women. And in February 1920, Japan actually stopped the issuance of such passports, but Congress, influenced by the postwar race riots and the rise of the Ku Klux Klan, went ahead and adopted the Exclusionary Immigration Act of 1924 which barred further Japanese immigration. The adoption of this legislation was widely interpreted in Japan as a piece of warlike provocation and, coming as it did when Japan was still suffering from the Tokyo earthquake and fire, it was deeply and enduringly resented.

From 1900 to 1907 the agitation against the Japanese had been largely sponsored and directed by organized labor and had been aimed at driving the immigrants from the cities and towns. By 1910 this objective had been virtually achieved. The next phase in the agitation consisted of an effort to drive the Japanese from the land as a necessary precondition to driving them from California, and of course to excluding further immigration. As part of this strategy, the California legislature adopted an Alien Land Act in 1913 over the protests and pleas of Secretary of State Bryan, who had come to Sacramento to urge a policy of caution and moderation. As the first official discrimination against the Japanese in California, the act touched off a wave of popular protest in Japan.

During World War I, anti-Japanese agitation abated somewhat: there was a serious labor shortage in California and the Japanese were our allies. But the moment the Treaty of Versailles was signed, a new wave of anti-Japanese agitation, in part provoked by Japanese aggression in Korea, Siberia, China, and Shantung, engulfed the state. In 1920 a new and far more severe Alien Land Act was adopted as an initiative measure by a popular vote of 668,483 to 222,085, and similar acts were soon adopted in Washington, Oregon, Arizona, Colorado, Delaware, Nebraska, Texas, Idaho, and New Mexico. The Alien Land Act was made to turn upon the interpretation of the key phrase, "aliens ineligible to citizenship." That the phrase included Japanese was confirmed by the decision of the Supreme Court in the famous Ozawa case, decided on November 13, 1922. This interpretation in turn led to the use of the same phrase in the Exclusionary Immigration Act of 1924, the passage of which brought the United States and Japan to the brink of war. With immigration suspended, there was a lull in the agitation for nearly a decade, but with the Sino-Japanese War in 1937 the old faultline began to be disturbed once again and, with the attack on Pearl Harbor, the Japanese minority was removed by the military from the West Coast--which had been the goal of the anti-Japanese forces for nearly forty years.

During this long agitation, a sharply etched Japanese stereotype had been given wide currency. It was from the School Board incident that Wallace Irwin received the inspiration for his popular fiction about Hashimura Togo--Letters of a Japanese Schoolboy (1909). In these letters, first published in Collier's, the "Jap" stereotype was first clearly outlined: the buck-toothed, bespectacled, wordy, arrogant, dishonest trickster who later became a well-known figure in the comic strips and pulp magazines and motion pictures. Two novels were planned and used as part of the postwar campaign against the Japanese, namely, Seed of the Sun (1921) by Wallace Irwin and The Pride of Palomar (1921) by Peter B. Kyne. Serialized in mass circulation magazines, both novels were long in active demand, in book form, in California public libraries. Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jr., sent copies of the Kyne novel to a list of important Americans and published their responses in a pamphlet entitled, The Verdict of Public Opinion of the Japanese-American Question. The Kyne novel, incidentally, was based on a racist tract written by Montaville Flowers--The Japanese Conquest of American Opinion (1917)--and was dedicated to Mr. Flowers. "How about John Chinaman?" a character asks the hero of the Kyne novel. "Oh, a Chinaman is different. He's a regular fellow--he appreciates the sanity of our position... John Chinaman... realizes... that he is not assimilable with us, or we with him." It is interesting to note that Kyne's fixation about racial differences stemmed from an early interest in the work of Gregor Mendel; indeed he once wrote a Mendelian novel.

"Trained hatreds," as Josiah Royce once observed, "are particularly pathetic and peculiarly deceitful." By 1920 the Californians had been thoroughly trained in hatred of the Japanese and other Oriental people. Charges advanced against the Chinese in 1876--when the first congressional committee to inquire into Oriental immigration visited the Coast--were dogmatically repeated in every subsequent investigation and applied, almost ritualistically, to the Japanese. For seventy-five years, as Dr. Charles N. Reynolds has pointed out, the people of California "lived in an atmosphere of racial consciousness." Surveying the files of one small-town California newspaper, Dr. Reynolds found 2877 news items about the Japanese, totaling about 20,453 inches of space, most of which reflected "irritation verging on hostility." He also found that the "peaks" of anti-Japanese publicity correlated with election years. "The almost complete disappearance of unfavorable news in the breaks between high levels," he writes, "is eloquent proof of the fictitious character of the anti-Japanese movement." When a majority is attempting to subordinate a trading as distinguished from a working minority--and the Japanese, like the Jews, are essentially a middle-class or trading minority--much more emphasis must be placed on agitation since the agility of the minority constantly threatens to upset the strategy of dominance.

Every disturbance in relations between Japan and the United States only further disturbed the relations between Japanese and non-Japanese in California; and, conversely, every "incident" in California only complicated the international situation. Thus, as Ruth Fowler has observed, "California residents gradually found opposition to the Japanese an ever-present issue, being applied to almost all their political, social, and economic problems. . . it colored every direct and indirect contact that they had with the Japanese." Caught in this continuous crossfire, the resident Japanese were the first casualties on the mainland of the real war between Japan and the United States which began on December 7, 1941. Viewing this forty-year agitation in retrospect, one can only marvel at the remarkable advances which the Japanese had made.

ASSIMILATION: CALIFORNIA STYLE

The early Japanese immigrants to the West Coast were young, unmarried men, in their best working years, who came to this country not as religious or political refugees but as hard-working immigrants anxious to better their condition. The children of Japanese peasants, they were accustomed to the intensive cultivation of exceedingly small farms; indeed they might best be described as experts in miniature farming. Those who came from urban areas were principally the sons of shopkeepers. The Californians regarded Japanese immigration as a planned invasion or infiltration but it was actually stimulated, more than anything else, by the rapid urbanization of Japanese society.

Most of the immigrants had the equivalent of an eighth-grade education. Showing from the outset a great eagerness to adopt American ways, they quickly donned American-made clothes; cut their hair like Americans; used American furnishings and gadgets in their homes; and tried to act--often to the point of caricature--like Americans. Many of them even changed their religious affiliations; for example, the churches were making converts to Christianity at the rate of five hundred a year in California in 1914. There was no crime problem among the Japanese; they paid their bills; and they

looked after those of their kind who were in need. The California-borne generation even showed evidence of biological adaptation: the children were taller, larger, and heavier than those born in Japan and the shape of their mouths, due to better dental care, was different. In short if rapidity of cultural assimilation is the test of good immigration stock, then the Japanese were model immigrants.

Only recently released from the rigid class demarcations of a feudal society, the Japanese immigrants tended to place a premium upon success in the struggle for position and status. "It is as though," writes Helen Mears, "while living in Japan, repressed in their small islands, crowded for space, fed on a limited diet, breathing a thick steamy vapor, they have become closed in on themselves like a bulb, the life-germ dormant, so that when they are freed from the special and peculiar conditions of their own land, take out into the full sun and crisp air, given proper nourishment, they develop with astonishing swiftness." But, as might be expected, it was precisely the remarkable adaptability of the Japanese--resembling a similar Jewish adaptability--which militated against them in California, where they were damned because they were too energetic, industrious, and adaptable. In part this superior adaptability reflects the extent to which the Japanese, like the Jews, were organized for co-operative action. "Precisely because of their historical traits of allegiance and organization," wrote Dr. R. E. Park, "the Japanese are capable of transforming their lives and practices more rapidly than any other group. . . . They are inclined to make more far-going concessions than other groups in order to overcome American prejudice and secure status here. . . . Whether we like them or not, no other foreign-language group is so completely and intelligently organized to control its members, and no other group has at all equaled them in the work of accommodating themselves to alien conditions." Like the Jews, the Japanese were too well organized and too adaptable; their success constantly incited envy and hostility. Indeed the Japanese must have concluded that prejudice is essentially racial since, in all other respects, they had so completely demonstrated their capacity for assimilation.

The first major occupations of the Japanese in California were in railroad construction and maintenance; as migratory sugar-beet workers on large-scale farms; and in the hop fields. From these three basic employments, they gradually found their way into other types of seasonal work, principally in agriculture. In most cases, they began at somewhat lower wage rates than other groups (after all they were the most recent immigrants), but as more and more Japanese concentrated in a particular occupation, they were quick to organize and to demand higher wages. Although excluded from trade-unions, they had associations which functioned, in many respects, as collective bargaining agencies. Kept out of urban labor markets by the trade-unions, the Japanese concentrated in seasonal agricultural work, gradually taking over types of work formerly performed by Mexicans and Chinese.

Piece rates prevail in many seasonal agricultural operations and the Japanese, by reason of their skill, diligence, and organization, were often able to turn these rates to their advantage. Quite gradually, therefore, they began to leave farm employment, after a season or two, for tenant farming on shares, often for their former employers. The next step, of course, was the substitution of a cash rental which often became the down payment on the purchase price of a small acreage; for example, between 1910 and 1920 the acreage of Japanese-operated farms more than doubled. As the number of Japanese farmers increased, the number of Japanese employed on Japanese-owned farms also increased, thereby decreasing the availability of Japanese as general farm laborers on Caucasian-operated farms. Thus by 1920 the Japanese had been written off as of no appreciable value as a source of farm labor for the American farmer. The general upward mobility of the Japanese--from laborer to tenant to owner--is what incited the opposition to them in rural areas. The Alien Land Acts of 1913 and 1920, however, put a serious brake on Japanese expansion in agriculture; both the number of Japanese-operated farms, and the acreage in such farms, showed a sharp decline after 1920. Excluded from farm ownership, the alien Japanese began to concentrate on contract gardening and the cultivation of small scattered units of land adjacent to urban communities--land that could be leased without arousing substantial opposition.

For the most part the Japanese made their own place in California agriculture. Even the San Francisco Chronicle conceded ". . . that the most striking feature of Japanese farming in California has been the development of successful orchards, vineyards, or gardens on land that was either completely out of use or employed for far less profitable enterprises." Japanese pioneered in the production of many crops; reclaimed desert and swamp lands; and converted cut-over timberlands in the Pacific North into prosperous berry farms. For example, the Japanese pioneered in the production of cotton and cantaloupes in Imperial Valley; first made a success of rice cultivation in the Sacramento Valley; and were the first to discover that the thermal belt on the west slope of the Sierras was ideally

adapted to vineyards and orchards. In fact it was estimated in 1920 that 70 per cent of the lands which the Japanese then controlled were lands which they had reclaimed or lands on which they had introduced new crops.

Penalized by exclusion from areas of crops which the Anglo-Americans had pre-empted, the Japanese made a highly profitable niche for themselves in the production of specialty produce crops which they raised, often on marginal lands, for the growing West Coast urban markets. In the growing of these crops, of course, they possessed a cultural advantage, but it was prejudice that drove them to the marginal lands. The fact that they succeeded in doing what others had failed to do or had never attempted only infuriated their detractors. For the Japanese to succeed to any degree was an affront; but for them to demonstrate a marked superiority as farmers to their lords and masters was insulting, insubordinate, and essentially subversive. Thanks to their skill and diligence, the Japanese greatly increased California's agricultural income; land values and rentals soared to new heights; and business generally was stimulated.

In fact the economic myths used in the Japanese agitation so frequently backfired that, after 1920, the argument shifted to racial or biological grounds. Once this had happened, the economic argument was used in reverse; that is, the advocates of exclusion self-righteously contended that they were arguing against their own economic interests. But the source of their prejudice, however, remained clearly economic. In the first place, the success of the Japanese had made it difficult, along with other factors, for the American "small farmer" to get a foothold in California agriculture or to compete with them in forms of farming with which he was not familiar. Also some of the largest landholding companies in the state were among the largest employers of Japanese farm laborers and tenants. Quite apart from these factors, however, the success of the Japanese in raising crops which had never previously been raised, often on lands formerly regarded as marginal, greatly incited the envy and covetousness of non-Japanese farmers. Considerations of this substantial order, rather than such sociological clichés as "dual citizenship," "language schools," and "clannishness," really motivated the hostility to the Japanese.

LITTLE TOKYO

Although the Japanese scored some amazing economic successes in California, the majority finally succeeded in putting *thum* in their place. Their place, of course, was Little Tokyo: a special niche in the economy within which they were contained by a skillful use of several strategic weapons. By the middle 1920's it was clearly apparent that containment had been achieved. The principal weapons used--the weapons that worked the greatest injury--were these: exclusion from the trade-union movement which in a strongly unionized city such as San Francisco--then the center of industry, trade, and commerce in California--really barred the way to most urban economic activities; the Alien Land Acts which imposed a serious check on agricultural expansion; the pattern of restrictive covenants (first developed in California) which, paralleling the denial to alien Japanese of the right to own agricultural lands, walled off the Japanese from other groups in urban areas; the denial of the right of citizenship-by-naturalization--a severe blow since it not only excluded the Japanese from many businesses and professions but made it impossible for them to use their economic power politically; and, lastly, the Exclusionary Immigration Act of 1924 which, by cutting off the source of replacements, doomed the Japanese to permanent minority status. Hedged in on all sides, the Japanese had been forced to carve out a special, largely noncompetitive, niche for themselves. Once they had retreated to this niche--actually they were driven into it--the agitation against them abated but it never wholly disappeared since there was always the possibility that, in the event of war, they might finally be ousted from this special niche. Just what, then, was the nature of this special niche in the economy?

By 1914--that is, with the passage of the immigration act of that year--the main economic pattern of Japanese life on the West Coast had been clearly delineated. First and foremost, the Japanese were concerned with the intensive production, on small holdings, and by the use of a large amount of unpaid family labor, of specialty produce crops for the large urban West Coast markets. By and large they had been successfully excluded from the more profitable side of the produce business, namely, shipment of California grown produce to out-of-state markets. In 1940 some 22,027 West Coast Japanese, or 43 per cent of those gainfully employed, were to be found in agriculture--for all practical purposes in the produce industry. Most of the farms were small but the total production was impressive. For example, in California that Japanese grew about 42 per cent of the produce crops, valued at around \$35,000,000 annually. The small isolated character of many of their holdings--really urban

lots held for future industrial use--prevented their being farmed successfully by large-scale mechanized methods; furthermore many labor operations in produce crops are difficult to mechanize. The American shipper-growers had the advantage of machines, a costly technology, and large amounts of capital; but these advantages were offset by Japanese skill, the use of unpaid family labor, and the control of wholesale and retail outlets.

In the distribution of truck produce the key functions are in the hands of the wholesaler. From beginnings that dated back to 1901, the Japanese had secured an important foothold in the Los Angeles wholesale produce market. By 1930 the Japanese-controlled portion of the business of the City Market amounted to \$16,000,000 annually and in 1934 had risen to \$25,000,000--in each instance roughly half of the total business of the market. The integration here was vertical: certain crops were largely or exclusively raised by Japanese; Japanese wholesalers distributed these crops and financed their production; and the Japanese wholesalers in turn dealt with Japanese retailers. Many of the Japanese retailers were former farmers who had started to sell produce from roadside stands and who had learned, perhaps from the Japanese in the floral industry, techniques of display which made the average Japanese retail fruit-and-vegetable concession a thing of beauty. In Los Angeles alone, nearly 1000 Japanese-Americans worked in the wholesale end of the produce business and between 2100 and 2500 Japanese-Americans were to be found in the retail end. Thus the actual dependence of the Japanese upon one industry was much greater than the census figures revealed. "The most striking feature of the prewar system of produce distribution," writes Dr. Leonard Broom, "was the ethnic continuity of the channels of production and marketing."

The West Coast ghettos or Little Tokyos were primarily set up to provide goods and services for those engaged in the produce industry, thereby further increasing the economic vulnerability of the Japanese. Refused service in beauty shops, barbershops, hotels, and restaurants run by Caucasians, the Japanese had been forced to develop their own service community. Little Tokyo, of course, also catered to a small tourist trade and, in the case of Japanese rooming houses and hotels, catered generally to a transient or "skid row" trade. The Japanese, however, had only the business which the non-Japanese did not want or, for special reasons, could not get; their businesses were strictly marginal. Virtually all Japanese businesses were small-scale, undercapitalized, dependent upon unpaid family labor, and operated out of structures which were at once homes and places of business. Dr. Broom points out that the Japanese, despite their remarkable early gains, had failed to achieve a large measure of power in the social structure. In 1941 the per capita income for all California civilians was \$982; for the Japanese-Americans it was \$671. The most impressive evidence of this economic "containment," however, was the fact that there were few really wealthy Japanese; most of the Japanese were small farmers or petty merchants. Aside from the produce business, the major props of Little Tokyo's specialized economy were contract gardening (largely noncompetitive); commercial fishing and employment in fish canneries; and the floral and nursery industry. The fish and floral industries were competitive but the Japanese had a cultural advantage in these fields which enabled them to survive despite strong competition.

By 1920 the Japanese had outgrown this contained status and the American-born generation, just reaching maturity, was becoming highly restive and impatient. The economic base had been entirely outgrown and a kind of regression was clearly apparent. The Japanese shops were badly managed, offered inferior merchandise, and were old-fashioned and nepotistic. "With the increase of the Nisei in the labor force," writes Dr. Broom, "job competition . . . became increasingly severe and there was a sense of pressure that was often interpreted by the Nisei as deriving from the competition of other ethnic groups." Chain stores and supermarkets were beginning to ease out the Japanese-American who owned the retail produce concessions. True, the Japanese had not been kept at the bottom of the heap, like the Chinese; but they had been contained within one major economic bastion, which was, in effect, their special creation and achievement. The economic crisis which impended in 1940 also coincided with a crisis in the shift of power from one generation to the next. Of 138,834 Japanese in the United States in 1930, 50.2 per cent were foreign-born; but of 126,947 Japanese in 1940, only 37.3 per cent were foreign-born.

External pressures do not alone account, of course, for the existence of Little Tokyo. The Japanese immigrants had a strong sense of the meaning of family, community, and nation and their social solidarity had its counterpart in a highly integrated culture. It was this strong, traditional, in-group feeling which enabled them to develop their competitive strength within the American economy. For example, the traditional patterns of organization among the Japanese had much to do with their

success in bringing about a vertical integration in the produce trade. Not only were the Japanese communities closely knit but they were also essentially petit bourgeois in composition. Thus the fact that only a single class interest was reflected in the community made for an unusual degree of internal solidarity. Within this world, however, a sharp cleavage had developed between Issei and Nisei. Such, in general, was the situation which prevailed in Little Tokyo immediately prior to December 7, 1941. Little Tokyo rested on a temporary and essentially precarious equilibrium. Almost any severe jolt would have disturbed this fragile status quo and the jolt which came with the war was more than severe --it was catastrophic.

GUILT BY RACE

The evacuation of Japanese-Americans for the Pacific Coast in the spring and summer of 1942 was an act without precedent in American history. It was the first time that the United States government condemned a large group of people to barbed-wire inclosures. It was the first event in which danger to the nation's welfare was determined by group characteristics rather than by individual guilt. It was the first program in which race alone determined whether an American would remain free or become incarcerated.

--Morton Grodzins in Americans Betrayed

Eight years have passed since General J. L. DeWitt, acting pursuant to authority which descended to him from Executive Order No. 9066 issued by President Roosevelt on February 19, 1942, ordered 110,000 persons of Japanese descent--men, women, and children, two-thirds of them citizens of the United States--removed from the three West Coast states. Nothing quite like this had happened in American history since President Jackson had ordered the Indians removed from Georgia. Today, thanks to several recent studies, it is possible to see this unprecedented violation of American civil liberties in proper perspective.

Mass evacuation had devious and multiple motivations but security considerations were surely not the decisive factors. So far as General DeWitt was concerned--and the immediate decision was his--his reasoning had the merit of simplicity and candor: "A Jap is a Jap . . . It makes no difference whether he is an American citizen or not, he is still a Japanese . . . The Japanese race is an enemy race and while many second and third generation Japanese born on United States soil, possessed of United States citizenship, have become 'Americanized,' the racial strains are undiluted." As Justice William Denman, of the Ninth Circuit Court, has caustically observed, "the identity of this doctrine with that of the Hitler generals towards those having blood strains of a western Asiatic race as justifying the gas chambers of Dachau is unmistakable." When the Army ordered mass evacuation, the High Command knew perfectly well that, wild stories to the contrary, not a single act of sabotage had been committed in Hawaii where 35 per cent of the population was of Japanese origin. Indeed it was the absence of sabotage which General DeWitt found to be "a disturbing and confirming indication that such action will be taken"!

Just as it would be wholly erroneous to say that prejudice against the Japanese on the West Coast as a "natural" by-product of racial and cultural differences, so it would be equally erroneous to assume that the "the people" of the West Coast demanded the mass evacuation of the Japanese. Evacuation was demanded, not by the people at large, but by particular groups and for specific reasons. Prejudice, indeed, is essentially a group rather than an individual or a mass phenomenon. It could be easily demonstrated that the presence of the Japanese contributed to the economic and social well-being of the Californians. The Japanese were not in competition with Californians as such; they were in competition with particular Californians, or groups of Californians. Historically the relations between these groups and the Japanese largely determined the extent of the prejudice against the Japanese; those with a vague generalized prejudice seldom bother to spend money on "anti-Japanese" campaigns or to organize pogroms. They may provide the votes but others always provide the money and the organizing energy and so it was with mass evacuation.

The moment we were at war with Japan, certain pressure groups in California saw that "a golden opportunity" existed to cut the Japanese down to size. The Western Growers Protective Association, made up of growers who controlled approximately 85 per cent of the row-crop vegetables shipped from California, actively promoted the campaign to secure mass evacuation of the Japanese. The prewar division in the produce industry, it will be recalled, was between the Americans who controlled out-of-state shipments and the Japanese who controlled the local markets. In the Salinas and Imperial Valleys,

however, a few Japanese had dared to enter the out-of-state field and were in active competition with American shipper-growers. Furthermore the out-of-state shippers had long eyed the local industry with unconcealed covetousness and, with a war on and prices soaring, they were determined to take over the Japanese-controlled sector of the industry. And this is precisely what they did--with the aid of the military, the American Legion, the Native Sons of the Golden West, and sundry "patriotic" groups.

The activities of the Western Growers Protective Association, and such allies as the Grower-Shipper Vegetable Association, the Associated Farmers, and the California Farm Bureau, are carefully detailed and elaborately documented in Mr. Grodzin's admirable study. Just how important this pressure was in bringing about mass evacuation must be appraised in light of the fact that the produce business was the mainstay of the Japanese economy in California. The Japanese did not have important economic allies or interlocking interests or diversified power relations. Economically they occupied a position which was--to an alarming degree--exposed and vulnerable since it was so thoroughly isolated.

On the other hand, the Caucasians in the produce industry had important allies and used and mobilized these allies with great skill. For example, it was the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce which: (a) brought West Coast congressmen together for the first time to consider the evacuation of the Japanese; (b) prepared the first resolution demanding evacuation, which the West Coast delegation adopted as its own; (c) consistently needled the West Coast congressional delegation and supplied this delegation with material for propaganda and demagoguery; and (d) mobilized pressure from other groups to the same end. An executive of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce reported: "The Chamber does the work, the congressmen do the talking. . . . On the Japanese problem, . . . the Chamber got the congressmen together not only prior to evacuation in order to get the movement underway but also more recently to protest any move to let the Japanese come back to the coast." There were, of course, various additional pressures from such me-too "civic" groups as the American Legion; but these political auxiliaries merely followed the lead of the major economic pressure groups and did their bidding.

The result, of course, was to build up what Mr. Grodzin calls an impressive air or "facade of unanimity." How little this ballyhoo had to do with security is convincingly demonstrated by the fact that after total mass evacuation had been ordered--which presumably should have satisfied the security-conscious--a new campaign was promptly organized, by the same groups, to see to it that the Japanese were never permitted to return to the Coast! Equally telltale is the fact that the Japanese were not evacuated from the Hawaiian Islands. At the time of the attack on Pearl Harbor, there were approximately 120,000 citizens of Japanese descent and 40,000 Japanese aliens in Hawaii, yet only 980 aliens and citizens were actually interned--a fraction of 1 per cent of the total.

Mr. Grodzin sums up the situation in these words:

Racial prejudice, economic self-interest, political profit, and patriotism were, in combination, a potent source of social action. . . . The veneer of national safety was thin; below its surface and visible at many points was the less marketable but more substantial framework of racial animosity, economic aggrandizement, and political fortune-hunting. While the total arguments in favor of evacuation were mobilized under the banner of national defense, the end result was in many cases completely divorced from the issue of safeguarding the Pacific Coast from its enemies. . . . What is fact and what people believe is fact are separate and distinguishable. Individuals act not on the basis of absolute "truth" but rather on what they believe to be truth. . . . In the case of the Japanese evacuation, the regional arguments were, in large part, factually false. Yet this neither diluted the strength with which they were believed nor. . . did it make the regional forces less important in shaping national policy.

There is an irony about mass evacuation which has somehow escaped attention. The economic vulnerability of the Japanese on the West Coast made their removal possible and this vulnerability had been brought about largely by external pressures and discriminations. In Hawaii the Japanese were not nearly so vulnerable; indeed they were the mainstay of the economic life of the Islands and hence could not be evacuated. Thus if the West Coast Japanese had not been driven into a special niche in the economy, the tragedy of mass evacuation, and the frightening precedent which it established, might have been avoided. "Japanese-Americans," writes Mr. Grodzin, "were the immediate victims of the evacuation. But larger consequences are carried by the American people as a whole. Their legacy is

the lasting one of precedent and constitutional sanctity for a policy of mass incarceration under military auspices. This is the most important result of the process by which the evacuation decision was made. That process betrayed all Americans." To this judgment one can only add that mass evacuation was not the product of wartime hysteria; it was the logical end-product, the goal, of a strategy of dominance which began forty years earlier and which was closely related to a similar strategy of American dominance in the Pacific. The resident Japanese were always the hostages of this larger strategy much as Japan proper is today the hostage of the American empire.

THE RETURN OF THE NATIVES

Despite a vicious campaign for permanent exclusion, the Japanese-Americans were finally released from the relocation centers and, after a further delay, were then permitted to return to the West Coast. Superpatriots inveighed against them; race-baiters incited mob violence; and the pressure groups snarled their disapproval. But the Japanese returned and, despite some violence, successfully braved the tempest. By the time the ban was lifted elements of the general population had begun to feel ashamed of the part they had played in the betrayal of the Japanese and now sought to make amends. The superb military record made by Japanese-Americans in the war was an additional factor which even the most brazen race-baiters could hardly blink. On the whole, public acceptance of the returning Japanese hostages was friendlier than might have been expected and, since 1945, few manifestations of the old "yellow peril" agitation have occurred. Not all of the Japanese, however, have returned. Sixty thousand were reported to have returned by the end of 1947 but it is doubtful if many more have returned in the last three years. Chicago, which had a prewar Japanese population of around 390, now has around 20,000, and colonies have been established in cities such as Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Denver, Salt Lake City, Cleveland, Cincinnati, and such outposts as Idaho Falls, Idaho.

Although the reception of the returning Japanese-Americans has been better than might have been expected, it is perfectly clear that the evacuees have failed to regain their special niche in the economy. First of all, the property losses of the Japanese were enormous; estimates range from \$350,000,000 to \$500,000,000. A claims commission has been established but if the maximum allowance is made for every evacuee it will still not reimburse the Japanese by a wide margin. By and large, the Japanese have not been able to regain their position in the produce industry, either in the wholesale or in the retail or production ends. Dr. Broom has estimated that whereas 20 per cent of the Japanese prewar labor force were wage and salary workers employed by non-Japanese, today 70 per cent or more of the labor force are wage or salary employees of Caucasians. In contract gardening, the floral and nursery industry, and one or two other lines, the Japanese have regained approximately their prewar position; but, according to Dr. Broom, "their actual share in the income of the region was far smaller than before the war and the number of instances in which they occupied positions of power and responsibility were greatly reduced. Their weakened position in the economic power structure was even more striking than their losses in income status. In a sense they have lost nearly a generation in their striving for economic security, but they have not returned in large numbers to the forms of manual labor in which they began a generation ago, and it seems improbable that they will." Japanese-American farm holdings are approximately one-fourth of what they were before the war. Much of the land they farmed was converted during the war to industrial uses or subdivided for residences. In other instances, their former holdings have been consolidated into larger units.

While the Japanese were in relocation centers, Negro migrants surged into the former Little Tokyos, many of which became Bronzeville overnight. There has been considerable friction in these areas between Japanese and Negroes, for the nature of the situation pitches the two groups into active competition in a crowded and socially neurotic milieu. Today a kind of truce prevails but the relationships are far from satisfactory. Superficially San Francisco's Fillmore district is a cosmopolitan area; but actually its integration is weirdly unreal. "The two groups live close together," writes one observer, "yet their lives do not touch; their contacts are superficial. Strong economic and social forces keep their communities and their lives as distinct as though they were miles apart."

The breaking up of Little Tokyo and, more important, the ouster of the Japanese from the produce industry have forced the younger generation to seek jobs in the larger community, principally as white-collar workers, emphasizing a trend that had begun before the war. In the long run it is possible that the younger generation may profit from this experience but, cut off from numerical replacements, they would now appear to be a vanishing minority in the same category as the resident Chinese. Today the average age of the Nisei is about twenty-eight and they have matured, perhaps beyond their years, as

a result of the harsh experience in the relocation centers. Here and there discriminatory bars have been removed: the Supreme Court, in June 1948, invalidated a California statute which prohibited alien Japanese from obtaining commercial fishing licenses (the Takahashi case); the Ninth Circuit Court, in Judge Denman's memorable decision, has set aside certain renunciations of citizenship which were obtained in the relocation centers (Acheson v. Murakami, August 26, 1949); and, more recently, the District Court of Appeals, in California, has followed the lead of the United States Supreme Court in the Oyama case, and has held the Alien Land Act unconstitutional. Even before this decision, the people of California had voted 1,143,780 to 797,067 not to incorporate the Alien Land Act into the constitution. The fact that the District Court of Appeals should have used certain sections of the United Nations Charter to upset the Alien Land Act has been widely interpreted as the beginning of a new development in judicial interpretation of discriminatory legislation.

In retrospect it can be seen that both the Chinese and the Japanese sought to defeat the strategy of dominance which the majority invoked against them but, in the end, both were defeated and the majority got what it wanted, namely, undisputed social, economic, and political pre-eminence. Now, at the mid-point of the century, the alien generation among the Japanese is rapidly disappearing; the Nisei have been more widely distributed, both geographically and occupationally; and the final absorption of the Japanese would seem to be merely a matter of time, cut off, as they are, from numerical replacements. The majority won a sweeping victory; but the price was high.

According to the language guides provided American occupying personnel, the Korean word for "American" is Me-Gook. Over a period of time, after the American occupation began, the prefix was dropped, the meaning was reversed, and the Koreans became "gooks"--with all the ugly connotations of "nigger." During the war, the term was also widely used to refer to Pacific Island natives but it was generally intended to include all Asiatics. "I was stationed in Seoul," writes a GI in the Letter Column of the New York Times of August 2, 1950, "during the first year of Korean occupation. I remember how the Koreans went out of their way to be friendly when the first United States troops arrived. . . . I also recall how time and abuse changed those early sentiments. . . . I can think of other incidents I saw in Seoul: jeeps sideswiping civilians when they were slow to move out of the way; soldiers cursing civilians; disparaging remarks about Korean lethargy, backwardness, hygiene, sanitary facilities and women. Even then the attitude was rather widespread. Certainly it did plenty of damage. . . . 'Gook' and all it implies is typical of the attitude that is causing so much alarm among United States advisors in Tokyo." There can hardly be any doubt, now, as to the origin of this attitude. Now that we are seeking a foothold among the Asians, who do not relish being called "gooks," we find that they still remember how Orientals were excluded from the United States. Gook--and all that it implies--had its origin in a situation in which a Caucasian majority on the West Coast was determined to dominate Asiatic minorities for its own clear profit and advantage. Today the same attitude is perpetuated by a situation in which we seek to use a preponderance of power to dominate Asiatic peoples in Asia to our clear profit and advantage.

THE LONG-SUFFERING CHINESE

The Fable reads that mysterious and inscrutable China, determined to live in isolation from the world, built an enormous wall to protect its empire from invaders. The Great Wall had its counterpart, however, in the vast hemispheric wall built by the Occidental world--comprised of legal statutes rather than bricks and stones--against the Chinese. The creation of this invisible hemispheric wall dates from the period when America, in its feverish rush to the West, reached the Pacific. Not until we had reached the Pacific did we make a sharp break with the American tradition of free migration and enact the first restrictive immigration measures. Here a new frontier was established: Europe, through American eyes, looked across the Pacific toward Asia. As Dr. Robert E. Park once observed: "It is as if we had said: Europe, of which after all America is a mere western projection, ends here. The Pacific Coast is our racial frontier."

The great wall against the Orient dates from 1882, with the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act. Today, however, there is no land under either the British or the American flag where Chinese labor is admitted. Following the American or California precedent, Australia, Canada, and New Zealand legislated, at an early date, against Oriental immigration. Later the wall was extended from Tia Juana to Cape Horn, as Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru put up barriers against Chinese immigration. "European peoples around the Pacific," wrote Mr. Chester Rowell in 1926, "regard their borders as a racial frontier, which they are determined to maintain inviolate."

Throughout the whole Pacific area, the immigration dykes were built, sometimes only against the Chinese, but in other instances against all Oriental people. The United States, for example, first barred immigration from China, Japan, and the Philippine Islands and then extended the same prohibition to peoples from India, Siam, Indo-China, Java, Sumatra, Ceylon, Borneo, New Guinea, and the Celebes. These dykes, moreover, have taken the form of rigid legal prohibitions setting the people of Asia sharply apart from those of Europe and America. In each instance, also, the prohibition has been based directly, emphatically, and explicitly on so-called racial considerations, thereby creating a situation which was certain to provoke, sooner or later, strenuous countermeasures. In the Atlantic, the symbol of our policy was the Open Door; in the Pacific, the Yellow Peril. Now, in the middle of the twentieth century, we find ourselves excluded from a large section of Asia!

For years the movement of immigrants across the Atlantic was kept in a separate compartment from the similar movement across the Pacific. In the public mind, our "immigration problem," as such, was associated almost exclusively with the transatlantic migration, with Ellis Island, the Statue of Liberty, and the Melting Pot. Conversely, the transpacific movement was associated with an entirely different set of symbols: the Yellow Peril, the Chinese Must Go!, and Japanese Picture Brides. It was, as Dr. Edith Abbott pointed out, "an entirely different problem." Although the admission was not always made, the problem was "different" because the factor of race was involved. In time this difference in attitude crystallized into a dogmatic assumption that the yellow and brown races were "incapable of assimilation." Underlying the assumption, of course, was the unmistakable reality that we had refused to assimilate the Indian and the Negro.

The movement around the rim of the Pacific to set the European peoples apart from those of Asia had its origin in California. Here, in the words of Ching Chao Wu, "for the first time in the history of mankind, large numbers of Orientals and Occidentals, who had developed different racial characteristics and cultural traits during the long period of isolation, were thrown together to work out their destiny in the new land." Even today, a hundred years after the fact, it is impossible to appraise the full consequences of this fateful first meeting. Throughout the Pacific area and beginning in California, the exclusion movement has followed a definite course: from local agitation against a particular class or race of Asiatics to national movements directed against all Asiatics of every race and class; from economic arguments to cultural and biological arguments for restriction and exclusion. The pattern of the entire movement is implicit in the agitation against the Chinese in California. Just how, then, did the breach with our tradition of free migration occur? How was it possible for one state to force its views upon the nation and thereby to set in motion a chain of events of world-wide significance?

THE TECHNIQUE OF EXCLUSION

The year 1876 marked a definite turning point in the history of anti-Chinese agitation in California. Up to this point, most of the barbarous and obnoxious anti-Chinese legislation adopted in California had been declared unconstitutional as being in violation of treaty provisions, the Fourteenth Amendment, or the federal civil rights statutes. The federal courts, as a matter of fact, were constantly preoccupied with California's outrageous "Hottentot" or race legislation in the period from 1860 to 1876. For the Chinese in California had wisely decided to defend their rights along strictly legal and constitutional lines. Compact racial organization made it possible for them to raise the large sums necessary for test cases in the courts. It was these "coolies" from Asia, not the Indians or the Negroes, who made the first great tests of the Civil War amendments and the legislation which came with these amendments. American constitutional history was made in such far-reaching decisions as United States v. Wong Kim Ark and Yick Wo v. Hopkins. Yet, years later, K. K. Kawakami, seeking to dissociate the Japanese from the Chinese, said that the early Chinese were "slavish, utterly callous to the Occidental environment, and content with the inhuman treatment meted out to them." The fact is, as the court reports eloquently attest, that the Chinese in California conducted a magnificent fight for the extension of human freedom in America.

By 1876 the Californians had reached an impasse in their agitation against the Chinese. Not only had the federal courts made effective use of the Fourteenth Amendment in striking down a series of discriminatory measures, but in 1875 Congress had adopted a general civil rights act. Although the act was primarily aimed at overriding the Black Codes which the Southern states had adopted in an effort to circumvent the Fourteenth Amendment, it was also a blow at the attempt to Jim Crow the Chinese in California. It became necessary, therefore, to shift the campaign from the state to the national level; to move the debate, so to speak, from Sacramento to Washington. At the same time, the emphasis shifted from discriminatory legislation to immigration restriction for the civil rights act barred the way to exclusion-by-harassment. Thus it was that a measure suspending Chinese immigration for ten years was finally forced through Congress in 1882 after both Presidents Hayes and Arthur had vetoed similar measures.

The enactment of this measure--the first restriction imposed by Congress on immigration--represented a change in American foreign policy as well as a sharp break with American tradition. In the early treaties with China (1844 and 1858) nothing was said about the rights of Chinese residing in the United States; presumably they had the same status as other aliens. But after the Central Pacific had started work on the transcontinental rail line in 1863, and after the Pacific Mail Steamship Company had established the first transpacific service in 1867, the United States became intensely interested in opening up trade and commerce with China. These developments were largely responsible for the negotiation of the Burlingame Treaty of 1868 which was hailed in this country as opening a new era in the Pacific.

The Burlingame Treaty also marked the dividing line between two distinct and contradictory policies on the part of the United States toward the Chinese. Up to this point our efforts had been directed toward compelling the Chinese to admit Americans to China for the purpose of trade and commerce. In this contention we asserted the broad principle of free migration and the duty of international intercourse. The Burlingame Treaty, which carried out this principle, was reciprocal in its provisions. Article VII conferred on American citizens in China the "same privileges, immunities and exemptions" enjoyed by citizens of the most favored nation and other provisions gave Chinese subjects here the same protection. The only exception was a proviso that "nothing herein contained shall be held to confer naturalization upon citizens of the United States in China, nor upon the subjects of China in the United States." The reason this provision was included was obvious: Negro suffrage was then being hotly debated in Congress and the clause was inserted to expedite ratification of the treaty. The ink was hardly dry on the signatures to the treaty, however, before political pressure from California forced the government to negotiate an amendment providing that the United States might regulate, limit, or suspend Chinese immigration but "may not absolutely prohibit it." This amendment paved the way for the legislation of 1882 suspending Chinese immigration for ten years.

In the debate on the bill, Senator Hawley had pointed out that we, as a nation, had bombarded China for precisely the same privilege--namely, free migration--which we now sought to deny her. "Make the conditions what you please for immigration and for attaining citizenship," he pleaded; "but make them such that a man may overcome them; do not base them on the accidents of humanity." As finally

passed--by a combination of Southern and Western votes-- the act not only suspended immigration but contained an express prohibition against the naturalization of the Chinese. Naturalization had been restricted to "free white persons" since 1790 but the limiting phrase had not been construed until 1878. In that year, in a case involving a Chinese, a federal district court judge in California had ruled that the word "white" referred to a person of the Caucasian race. Actually the phrase "free white persons" was used to exclude slaves, regardless of their color, and Indians living in tribal organizations. It will be noted, for example, that not all white persons were eligible; only those who were free could apply. But with the adoption of the 1882 act the United States was formally committed to a policy of racial discrimination at variance with its traditions and principles as well as its prior policies. The measure also sanctioned state discriminations, since it denied the Chinese the protection of citizenship, and seriously undermined the philosophy upon which the federal civil rights legislation rested. Indeed one year later, in 1883, the Supreme Court declared the general civil rights act unconstitutional.

With the passage of the exclusion measure in 1882 and the Supreme Court's decision in the civil rights cases in 1883, the agitation against the Chinese reached a new pitch of intensity and violence throughout the Far West. In September 1885, a riot occurred at Rock Springs, Wyoming, in which 28 Chinese were murdered and property valued at \$148,000 was destroyed. "Shortly afterward," writes Dr E. C. Sandmeyer, "the entire west coast became inflamed almost simultaneously. Tacoma burned its Chinese quarter, and Seattle, Olympia, and Portland might have done the same but for quick official action. In California developments ranged from new ordinances of regulation to the burning of Chinese quarters and the expulsion of the inhabitants. Among the localities where these actions occurred were Pasadena, Santa Barbara, Santa Cruz, San Jose, Oakland, Cloverdale, Healdsburg, Red Bluff, Hollister, Merced, Yuba City, Petaluma, Redding, Anderson, Truckee, Lincoln, Sacramento, San Buenaventura, Napa, Gold Run, Sonoma, Vallejo, Placerville, Santa Rosa, Chico, Wheatland, Carson, Auburn, Nevada City, Dixon, and Los Angeles.

These pogroms were so humiliating that the Chinese government promptly sought a modification of the treaty and an amendment was negotiated suspending all immigration for twenty years and providing indemnity for the loss of Chinese life and property. While this new treaty was being ratified in China, Congress abruptly passed the Scott Act of 1888 which slammed the doors to some 20,000 Chinese who had temporarily left the United States but who, at the time, had a perfect right of re-entry. Over a period of years the Chinese government filed protest after protest with the State Department against the enactment of this outrageously unfair measure without receiving even an acknowledgment of its notes. By this time our attitude toward China, as reflected in this legislation, was so brutally overbearing that many foreign offices assumed that we were trying to provoke a war.

Not content with this state of affairs, Congress then passed the notorious Geary Act of 1892 (again by a combination of Southern and Western votes). Continuing the suspension of immigration for another ten years, the bill denied bail to Chinese in habeas corpus proceedings and required certificates of residence from the Chinese in default of which they could be deported. The effect of the Geary Act, which was denounced by the Chinese Ambassador in Washington as being "in violation of every principle of justice, equity, reason and fair-dealing between two friendly powers," was to drive many Chinese from California and to terrify those who remained. In 1902 Congress indefinitely extended the prohibition against Chinese immigration and the denial to them of the privilege of naturalization. But further indignities were still in order. Despite strenuous protests from the Chinese government, Congress insisted on making the terms of the Immigration Act of 1924 barring aliens ineligible to citizenship specifically applicable to the Chinese, and at the same time made it impossible for American citizens of Chinese ancestry to bring their alien wives to this country. In 1926, 1928, and 1930, resident Chinese groups sought to have this latter provision modified, but to no purpose. At an even earlier date, also, we had projected our racially discriminatory immigration laws into the Pacific by barring Chinese immigration to Hawaii and the Philippine Islands.

The process by which the Chinese were excluded in response to pressure from California has been summarized by Mrs. Mary Roberts Coolidge as follows: "From suspension of restriction; from execution of treaty stipulations to flat prohibition of treaty compact, the movement went on until it culminated in the Geary Act, which reiterated and legalized the severer features of them all and added the requirement of registration. It was. . . progression from vinegar to vitriol." It was also entirely in keeping with the history of our treaty dealings with the Indians. As a matter of fact, the exclusion of the Chinese squared perfectly with the policy of placing Indians on reservations and segregating Negroes by force of law. Modes of aggression which had been tried out against Indians and Negroes were easily

The debate on the Naturalization Act of 1870 points up the relation between the Chinese question and the Negro question. This act extended the privilege of naturalization to "aliens of African nativity and persons of African descent"--an extension made unavoidable by the Emancipation Proclamation. During the debate, however, the question arose as to whether the same privilege should also be extended to the Chinese. "The very men," said Senator Carpenter, "who settled the question of Negro suffrage upon principle now hesitate to apply the principle . . . and interpose the very objections to the enfranchisement of the Chinaman that the Democrats urged against the enfranchisement of the Freedmen." Only in respect to nominal citizenship did we distinguish the two questions and this we did because the specific issue had, so to speak, been settled by the Civil War.

As a matter of fact, the Chinese and Negro had been intimately related in California long before 1876. "The anti-foreign feeling in California," writes B. Schreike, "was unquestionably intensified by the presence of Southerners, who comprised nearly one-third of the population in the first decade of American rule." A number of Southerners brought their slaves with them to California, where Indian peonage was as old as the first settlements. California enacted a fugitive-slave statute, refused to accept the testimony of Negroes in judicial proceedings until 1863, and rejected ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment. An early statute read that "no Black, or Mulatto person, or Indian shall be allowed to give evidence in favor of, or against a white man." Chief Justice Hugh C. Murray, a member of the American or Know-Nothing Party, described by the historian Bancroft as "immoral, venal, and thoroughly corrupt," construed this statute to include Chinese! While he may have been corrupt, he was certainly logical. "The same rule," he pointed out, "that would admit them [the Chinese] to testify, would admit them to all the equal rights of citizenship, and we might soon see them at the polls, in the jury box, upon the bench [!] and in our legislative halls."

The national political situation in the post-Civil War decades was another factor which made it possible for California to blackmail the government on the Chinese question. During these decades, two Presidents were elected by minorities in popular votes and two more by majorities of less than twenty-five thousand. In these critical postwar decades, the control of both the Presidency and the two houses of Congress frequently shifted between the two major parties. The two major parties were parties of the North and the South; hence the Pacific Coast states came to be looked upon as holding the balance of power. In effect both parties were compelled to appeal to the anti-Chinese sentiment in California. In 1880, six of seven California electors cast their voices for the Democratic Presidential nominee despite the fact that the state legislature was overwhelmingly Republican. The Republicans in Congress had not accepted the California "line" on the Chinese. Four years later, California was back in the Republican column because the Democrats had not been sufficiently "anti-Chinese." The reason for this peculiar national political situation is quite clear: the post-bellum Solid South had a measure of political power out of all relation to the percentage of its citizens who were permitted to vote. Not only were the Negroes excluded but, to ensure white supremacy, a one-party system had been established. Since it was useless for the South to campaign in the North, and vice versa, both regions campaigned in the West.

These same decades also marked an important period in the history of American labor. In the years from 1870 to 1890, a new industrial society was coming into being and the social stratification that came with this new dispensation created great misgivings and fears among working people. From coast to coast, this feeling of fear and hostility tended to be vented against minority groups. Just as workers once rioted against the use of machines, and destroyed the machines, so, in these decades, they tended to be hostile toward groups that seemed to threaten them with unfair competition; witness the attitude of the "poor white" toward the Negro. Hatred of the new social order fused with, and stimulated, a hatred of groups that could be identified as competitors.

In California the Chinese were mistakenly identified as the cause of the seemingly inexplicable economic distress which came at the end of the fabulous Gold Rush decades (1850-1870). Although the argument seemed plausible, there would have been a depression in California in the 1870's if the entire population had been made up of lineal descendants of George Washington. "White American" workingmen were pouring into the state: 59,000 in 1869; 150,000 in the period from 1873 to 1875. What with the completion of the Central Pacific, the decline in placer mining, and the generally undeveloped economy of the state, there were simply not enough jobs. The rapidity with which the argument against the Chinese shifted from the economic to the biological, from "unfair competitor" to "incapable of assimilation," exposed the delusion on which it rested.

On the other hand it seemed plausible to say--although the argument was equally fallacious--that the difficulty was purely racial and not economic. What Senator Morton had to say, on this score, made a great deal of sense:

If the Chinese in California were white people, being in all other respects what they are, I do not believe that the complaints and warfare against them would have existed to any considerable extent. Their difference in color, dress, manners, and religion have [sic], in my judgment, more to do with this hostility than their alleged vices or any actual injury to the white people of California. . . . Looking at the question broadly, and at the effect which Chinese labor has exerted in California, running through a period of twenty-five years, I am strongly of the opinion, that, but for the presence of the Chinese, California would not now have more than one-half or two-thirds of her present population; that Chinese labor has opened up many avenues and new industries for white labor, made many kinds of business possible, and laid the foundations of manufacturing interests that bid fair to rise to enormous proportions. . . .

The latter part of this argument was clearly sound. It is to be doubted, indeed, if the Chinese were ever in direct competition with white Americans; their labor tended to complement rather than to supplant the labor of other groups. Actually there is good reason to believe that, by their presence, they tended to bolster up rather than to depress the wage standard of the white Americans which had been greatly increased by the abnormal conditions prevailing during the Gold Rush.

To see the real source of conflict, one must cut back to the first contacts. The Chinese were "looked upon as a veritable god-send" when they first appeared in California, as, indeed, they were. The difference in color, dress, manners, and religion, to which Senator Morton referred, was not then a source of conflict. With few exceptions, California employers consistently regarded the Chinese as a desirable, cheap, submissive, and efficient source of labor and looked upon these differences as fortunate traits precisely because they made assimilation difficult if not impossible. In California the opposition to the Chinese was overwhelmingly a working-class opposition; hence its political potency and social power. Where two laboring groups are both being exploited but one more than the other, it often happens that the exploitation will generate conflict between the two exploited groups either because they fail to see the real source of the trouble or because the more powerful labor group finds it expedient to attack, not the exploiter, but the other victim. Out of this "false" conflict came the anti-Chinese agitation and out of this agitation came a racist ideology which survived in California for three generations.

The conflict was false, in economic terms, because it was extremely shortsighted and self-defeating. "The exclusion law," observes Mr. Wu, "which prevents aliens from coming in, cannot keep capital from going out. . . . If people are prevented from competing with one another in the same political region, their goods will still compete in the same world market." When the flow of Chinese labor was finally stopped, that of other groups, such as the Japanese and Filipino, was promptly stimulated. At the same time, American capital was seeking outlets throughout the Far East and in Central and South America, and in many instances was actually seeking out the so-called cheap labor areas. Had the California labor leaders elected to organize the Chinese, they could have worked out a strategy and policy which would have discouraged the importation of Oriental labor.

Today we are beginning to realize that the argument against "cheap coolie labor" is the counterpart of the argument that Western industrial technology should be monopolized by Western peoples. Both arguments are essentially isolationist. Having held back and sought to prevent the industrialization of the Far East, we now find ourselves in the position of sending, in dollar value, billions of industrial products to the Far East in the form of planes, and tanks, and guns. Today we complain that we have no spokesmen, no emissaries, to send to the Far East, who understand the peoples and speak their languages and who could explain "our" point of view to "them." Nor have we yet seen the light on this score. For example, on December 17, 1943, we repealed the Chinese exclusion acts and made resident Chinese aliens eligible for citizenship. But we then established a quota permitting the entry of 105 Chinese per year! This quota can be catalogued as a sociological joke for the number of Chinese leaving the United States each year will exceed the quota or, if not, the return of husbands marooned from their wives, and vice versa, will fill the quota easily. Of the quota figure, furthermore, 25 places must be reserved for resident Chinese who desire to leave the country and return under the quota. Repealing the exclusion laws was a good gesture but it was just that--a gesture.

CHINATOWN

The number of Chinese in the United States has declined from 107,500 in 1890 to 77,504 in 1940, of whom 30,868 were citizens. Driven from the mines and agriculture at an early date, they are today a high urbanized minority: approximately 80 percent live in the Chinatown ghettos of such cities as San Francisco, Los Angeles, New York, Chicago, Portland, Seattle, Boston, Philadelphia, Washington, Detroit, Baltimore, St. Louis, and Pittsburgh. The San Francisco Chinatown is the largest of these communities, containing 22 percent of all the Chinese in the United States and 44 per cent of those living in California. In 1920 there were 694.5 Chinese males for every 100 Chinese females, a ratio of something like 7 to 1; in 1930 the figures were 59,802 males, 15,152 females. The unequal sex ratio is merely one of a number of factors indicating that, in the absence of some increase in the present quota, which is not even a replacement quota, the Chinese in the United States will decrease to the vanishing point.

The passage of the Exclusion Act of 1882 set in motion a process which, over a period of years, resulted in the present geographical distribution of the resident Chinese. In general the process has had three phases: a high degree of concentration in California and the other Western states from 1850 to 1880 (as late as 1870 nearly 99 percent was concentrated west of the Rockies); a period of dispersal from 1880 to 1910, following the passage of the exclusion acts and the widespread anti-Chinese riots in the West in 1885; and, since 1910, a movement from smaller to larger cities and a new concentration in the major metropolitan centers.

Over the years, too, marked occupational changes have taken place among the resident Chinese. In 1860, some 34,933 Chinese worked in the mines in California but the number so employed dropped to 17,609 in 1870 and to 151 in 1920. At one time as many as 10,000 Chinese were employed in the construction of the Central Pacific rail line; today less than 488 are employed by the railroads. For a time the Chinese were widely employed in California in such industries as grain farming, fruit growing, and the drainage of tideland deltas. In 1886, for example, 30,000 Chinese worked as harvest hands in California; but by 1920 the number had dropped to 3617. At an early date, also, the Chinese were widely employed in California for various types of "women's work," principally cooking and washing. Rose Hum Lee points out that as long as there were two males for every female in the population of California, the Chinese had no employment problem; the appearance of American women contributed notably to the decrease in the number of Chinese, as did the emergence, in California, of a more stable economy. There was a time when the Chinese tried to gain a foothold in the service occupations, as porters, janitors, cooks, and domestics, but they tended to withdraw from these occupations, first, because they wanted to minimize competition in order to deflect racial aggression aimed at the Chinese community, and second, because more and more of them were being absorbed in Chinese-owned stores in the various Chinatowns.

In this occupational regrouping of the Chinese, one can see a general process at work. To maintain its dominance, a majority usually invokes three techniques against a minority: members of the minority are restricted, by various devices, to subordinate positions in the economy; restrictive legislation is used to erect barriers against the minority; and an effort is made to deny citizenship to the members of the minority. All of these techniques have been used against the Chinese. For a time they resisted the subordinating process but the backbone of this resistance was broken with the passage of the Geary Act in 1892. From then on, the Chinese withdrew from those jobs in which Americans competed and concentrated in those where no bitter voice was raised against them. By 1920, for example, 50 per cent were employed in restaurants and laundries. In 1870, some 2000 had been employed in general manufacturing but in 1920 only 100 were so employed. "The Chinese," writes Ching Chao Wu, "have succeeded where personal service is a factor in success. But they have failed in the region in which America is supreme--in occupations which involve the application of machinery. They have failed to gain a foothold in the occupations in which they have competed with, and so replaced, the native stocks." The moment the Chinese adopted a strategy of accommodation, the racial hatred of the majority turned to tolerant indifference and sentimental patronage. Oliver Cox, with obvious irony, describes the change in relationship in this manner: "In the end the Chinese on the Coast have been practically gypsy-fied. 'The Chinaman was a good loser.' He has withdrawn from the struggle; he is no longer a significant threat to the standards of white labor. He may now be treated with a high degree of indifference or even amiability."

But tolerance is not acceptance, and indifference is not integration. "The Chinese question" has long since lost its former urgency and sense of peril but the position of the resident Chinese has grown steadily worse. By retiring to their Chinatowns, the Chinese have been able to achieve a relationship with the majority which Mr. Wu describes as "symbiotic rather than social . . . cold, formal, and commercial." But nothing even approaching integration has taken place. The life of the resident Chinese, as Leong Gor Yun has pointed out, "is not an unhappy life--most of the time. But it is neither Chinese nor American: it is Chinatown. It is a life led by the Chinese in spite of, rather than with the co-operation of, the Americans among whom they breathe and somehow find their living."

Since the passage of the exclusion acts, Chinese life in America has centered in that unique social community, Chinatown. The name of Chinatown, as well as its synthetic exoticism and set-apart character, attests the fact that the Chinese came to America with somewhat different objectives than the usual immigrants of the period. Products of an ancient highly integrated culture, they wanted to preserve their way of life in America until they could return in rich splendor to China. That so many of them were single men, culturally and racially quite sharply set apart from the people among whom they lived, only served to underscore this intention. Unable to acquire real property or to homestead, the early immigrants had to improvise, in their own nimble and quick-witted fashion, and to indulge in all sorts of makeshift occupations. They were, it was said, the great "gap fillers." Constantly retreating, constantly losing marginal occupations, they were in part driven into, and in part withdrew to, the area known as Chinatown. Rose Hum Lee has found that Chinatowns generally cannot survive in cities of less than 50,000 since it takes a city of approximately that size to provide sufficient patronage for the survival of the Chinese restaurant and hand laundry. Nowadays, however, steam laundries have forced Chinese laundrymen from the small city to the large city where a limited patronage can still be found for the meticulous hand work in which they specialize. At the same time, with the import-export trade being interrupted by the war, the Chinese-owned business has turned more and more from exotic importations to articles of home decoration, frozen and canned foods, and the bottling of spices, all handled American-style.

As the oldest and largest Chinese settlement in America, the San Francisco Chinatown is of particular interest. At the height of the anti-Chinese fury in California, Chinatown was pointed to as conclusive evidence of the hideous character of the Chinese. "Foul, uncanny, vicious, and a menace to the community . . . a sliver of space seven blocks long and three wide," it was the super-slum of the West. Enforced segregation had resulted in great congestion and overcrowding which, in turn, had boosted property values. The Chinese, of course, were never the real beneficiaries of this unearned increment in property values; throughout the years most of the owners have belonged to the majority. An investigation in 1885 indicated that there were 14,552 bunks for single men in ten blocks of Chinatown. The fire of 1906 destroyed most of these old rookeries and the district was, to some extent, rebuilt. But it had to be rebuilt on the old site, since restrictive clauses in property deeds generally barred the use or occupation of property by Chinese outside the Chinatown ghetto. As families became more common, one-room units were taken over by entire families. Property in Chinatown became even more valuable than before the fire and rents rose rapidly. The problem of overcrowding and congestion was further aggravated during the depression, when many Chinese were driven into Chinatown from rural areas in search of employment or relief.

For years a legend prevailed in San Francisco that the blessed fire of 1906 had destroyed all that was ugly, sordid, and unhealthy about Chinatown. But in point of fact, Chinatown is still a slum. Here is what the San Francisco Housing Authority had to say about the "quaintness" of Chinatown in 1941:

Expansion in Chinatown is limited. Fifteen thousand Chinese live in an area of five blocks by four blocks which is dedicated not primarily to residence but to shops, restaurants and institutions. Reports of the inconceivable conditions under which the Chinese maintain themselves are not exaggerated. Of the 3830 dwelling units in Chinatown approximately 3000 are totally without heating equipment. In all Chinatown there are only 447 homes acceptable by the Survey standards, and all of them are in a high rental bracket. Buildings constructed after the fire to house single men on a bare existence basis--that is, containing tiny windowless rooms with hall toilets and kitchens and often no bath facilities anywhere--now house families . . . sometimes as many as ten to a room. Some in the very heart of San Francisco have neither gas for cooking nor electricity for light but use wood and kerosene.

They live crowded together above the shops and below the sidewalks. Their windows, if they have any, look out on streets that are noisy until the early hours of the morning. The children lack adequate homes; they play in the streets at night or sit with their mothers and fathers at the workshops until midnight. As a consequence of these living conditions, the Chinatown tuberculosis rate is three times that of the rest of the city. Though the Chinese cultural tradition has helped to maintain morale so far, there are now numerous indications of discouragement and disintegration.

Three of every five Chinese families are living in one or two rooms, rooms usually so small as to deserve the appellation "cubicles."

Approximately 81.9 per cent of the Chinese-occupied dwelling units in San Francisco have been pronounced substandard by contrast with 19.7 per cent for the rest of the population. Not only is the housing problem serious, but it is extremely difficult to correct. Property values in Chinatown, because of the congestion, are extremely high--a factor which has handicapped the Housing Authority in developing public housing projects in the area.

A recent survey of New York's Chinatown gives much the same picture of internal decay and disintegration. Between 15,000 and 20,000 Chinese live in the Chinatown that extends from Canal Street to within a few blocks of City Hall. "Most of the buildings, which usually contain stores, restaurants and funeral parlors on the lower floors, are four to seven stories. Few, if any, have elevators, and 60 per cent are more than fifty years old. . . . The walls [describing one unit] were sooty and the floor was uncarpeted. The sleeping rooms were astonishingly small and ill-ventilated. They lacked windows. . . . Not all the places visited contained children. In two dark basement rooms two single middle-aged men lived. Some tenements seemed to be given entirely to dormitory-like use by groups of unmarried men."

The color barrier has been, of course, the main stumbling block in the lives of the American-born Chinese. Up to the end of 1938, the Oriental Division of the United States Employment Service in San Francisco reported that 90 per cent of its placements were for service workers, chiefly in the culinary trades. The service has reported that, with few exceptions, most firms discriminate against the Chinese despite the fact that many of the American-born are well educated and have received special training. With the defense program well under way, Nate R. White reported that there were 5000 young Chinese in San Francisco for whom "there seems to be no future worthy of their skills." Instead of applying and using the skills for which they were trained, they were "washing dishes, carrying trays, ironing shirts, cutting meat, drying fish, and selling herbs."

During the war, however, the employment situation showed marked improvement, as the Chinese began to find jobs as stenographers, timekeepers, welders, carpenters, shipyard workers, and in the aircraft industry. As more Chinese began to find work outside Chinatown, Chinese restaurants and hand laundries began to close their doors. The fact that China was our ally during the war, as well as the general wartime ferment on "the racial question," served to lower discriminatory barriers and to arouse new hopes in the resident Chinese. But these developments have only accelerated the disintegration, the breaking-up, of Chinatown. Both external and internal pressures are forcing a dissolution of Chinatown, long a symbol of the isolationism which we have practiced toward the peoples of the Far East. Since the passage of the exclusion acts, the resident Chinese have been the victims of this policy but it may well be that we, the rest of us, are destined to be the ultimate victims. Here, at any rate, is a minority "problem" that we seem to have solved: within another generation, the Chinatowns will probably have disappeared and the Chinese-Americans, cut off from replacements, will have "vanished"--that is, then absorbed into the general population. Few ethnic groups have made a more important contribution to the culture of California than the Chinese, yet today one can see no visible evidences of this contribution, with the exception of Chinatown itself. Just as their cultural contributions have been absorbed without leaving so much as a name place as a memorial, so the people themselves seem destined to disappear as a minority.

transferred to the Chinese and a Californian on the Supreme Court had little difficulty in convincing his colleagues that it was as easy to breach a treaty with China as with the Indian tribes. "Experts in violence," as Felix S. Cohen has noted, "do not usually retire when a war has been won." They look for new victims.

While China was as powerless to retaliate as the Indian tribes or the former Negro slaves, she did voice her resentment on more than one occasion. Mrs. Coolidge states, for example, that the exclusion of the Chinese and the indignities perpetrated in this country "undoubtedly contributed to the accumulated resentment which found expression in the Boxer Rebellion." Mr. Wu has gone further and stated that the Boxer Rebellion was the expression of a spirit which, if China had been stronger, would have resulted in the exclusion of all Americans from China. History has since proved that Mr. Wu was engaging in prophecy, not speculation.

THE POLITICS OF EXCLUSION

In retrospect one is intrigued by the question: How was it possible for a single West Coast state to force its racial views upon the national government and to shape, in effect, the foreign policy of the country? The brief if somewhat cryptic answer would be that the views of California were in fact the views of the nation since anti-Chinese prejudice can hardly be distinguished from the same prejudice against Indians and Negroes. But there is this difference: the measures which were adopted against the Chinese had international implications; they represented the first projection beyond the borders of this country of our domestic racism. Our dealings with Indians and Negroes had brought into being a set of conditioned reflexes which the Californians soon discovered were most responsive to racial propaganda. But the specific reasons for the success of California's agitation were these: the interrelations between the Negro and Chinese issues; the peculiar balance of political power within the nation; and the fact that both the Negro and the Chinese issue fused with a larger national capital-labor conflict.

"No small part of the persecution of the Chinaman," wrote Mrs. Coolidge, "was due to the fact that it was his misfortune to arrive in the United States at a period when the attention of the whole country was focused on the question of slavery." Even so we started out to deal with the Chinese on a nondiscriminatory basis only to discover that this policy conflicted with our policy toward Indians and Negroes. Every issue affecting the Chinese cut across the whole complex of issues affecting the Negro. Without a single exception, the anti-Chinese measures were carried in Congress by a combination of Southern and Western votes. Southern Bourbons could not tolerate a policy in California that might have unsettling consequences in Alabama. Besides the more California became committed to a Jim Crow policy in relation to the Chinese, the greater became its obligation to support Southern racial policies in Congress. At one time, too, the South had shown a lively interest in the possibility of substituting Chinese coolie labor for Negro labor; without the sanctions of slavery it was feared that the Negro might be unmanageable. The proposal was seriously discussed in Memphis in 1869, and on several occasions Southern plantation owners visited California with this proposal in mind. Indeed the project was only abandoned when it became clear, after 1876, that the nation did not intend to abolish Negro servitude. Once the federal government surrendered to the South on the Negro issue, it was logically compelled to appease California on the subject of "coolie" labor.

The Chinese were directly related to the slave question in still another way. The great outward movement of coolie labor from China, in the years from 1845 to 1877, was a direct consequence of the discontinuance of slavery in the British Empire. During these years a traffic developed in coolie labor that rivaled "the palmiest days of the Middle Passage." Over 40,000 coolies were imported to Cuba alone, of whom it has been said that at least 80 per cent had been decoyed or kidnaped. By 1862 the movement had reached such proportions that the American government was forced to prohibit American ships from participating in the China-West Indies traffic. Wherever they were imported, the coolies were used to supplant Negro slaves in plantation areas and they might have been used for the same purpose in the United States if we had really freed the slaves. Had this been the case, the Southern representatives in Congress would almost certainly have voted against exclusion of Chinese immigration. On the other hand, the way in which coolies were used as substitutes for slaves in the West Indies served to alarm white labor in California.

CONTEMPORARY FACTORS INFLUENCING MINORITY GROUPS AND THEIR BEHAVIOR

"What white Americans have never fully understood -- but what the Negro can never forget -- is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it." (Racism in America, 1970) The United States Commission on Civil Rights not only identified white racism as the major contributor to racial unrest and injustice in the U.S. but went on to delineate four primary areas of concern: (1) employment, (2) housing, (3) education and (4) law enforcement. Racism, whether overt or covert, personal or institutional, provides the white community with economic, political and psychological benefits while subordinating minority members of our society. (NOTE: Racism in America is a good source to introduce contemporary factors that influence minority groups and their behavior.)

While racism is a general term for a wide variety of actions and its effect encompasses all minorities, its specific influences and reactions (behaviors) to it must be examined by looking at the individual minority groups that compose our multi-ethnic society. A great deal of literature is available on each of the minorities and keeping current on developments in the area requires constant review of professional journals, newspapers, books, films, and publications from appropriate organizations. We have found the following sources valuable in assessing the contemporary factors that influence minority groups and their behavior:

1. Psychology Today: a text that includes substantial information on attitudes, perceptions, group interaction, communications, personality theories and socio-economic factors that provide stimulus and motivation for behavior.
2. "The Psychology of the Ghetto": an article by Kenneth Clark, a noted psychologist, that gives an insight into the factors that shape a minority member's personality and cause a perpetuation of the ghetto dilemma.
3. Black Americans: case studies that analyze the causes and effects involved with personality development and behavior patterns of several Black Americans.
4. "The Role of Stereotypes in Perception": A DRRRI Handout that explores the influence that stereotyping has on both the minority and majority members of our society.
5. The Nature of Prejudice: examines the development of prejudice from childhood and cites examples of its powerful effect on perception on others and one's self.
6. Another View: To Be Black in America: contemporary writings by recognized leaders in the areas of civil rights, government and education with a focus on issues that have led to a variety of behavior that range from complacency to riot, and segregation to separatism.

The above materials deal primarily with the behavioral sciences (psychological) aspect of contemporary factors that influence minority groups. The following materials look at contemporary issues more from the viewpoint of the minority group (i.e., American Indians, Black Americans, Chicanos, etc.):

1. Black Protest in the Sixties: provides insight into the attitudes and forces that led to the turbulence in the 1960's.
2. La Raza: emphasis on the Chicano movement, life in the barrio, family relations and philosophy of the Chicano.
3. Puerto Rico: A Profile: examines migratory activity, employment, and relationship with other minority groups as well as the family concept.

4. "Island in America": a film that graphically illustrates the Puerto Rican's plight in the U.S. and while it deals primarily with current events, they are related to the history and traditions of the Puerto Rican.

5. Night Comes to the Cumberlands: provides a good overview of the forces at work that shape the lives of the people living in the Appalachian area.

6. Custer Died for Your Sins: examines basic Indian concepts and relates them to contemporary issues; discusses treatment of the Indian in today's society.

7. Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: attempts to provide insight into the forces that motivate an Indian and cause him to behave as he does.

8. Roots: An Asian American Reader: analyzes the social and economic factors which contribute to the Asians reactions to the stresses and strains of modern U.S. society; provides a study of attitudes that currently affect the Asian in the U.S.

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SECTION IV

SOCIAL CONCEPTS

This section is a discussion of social concepts, prejudice, bigotry, discrimination and stereotyping when are all problems to varying degrees in our society today. The effective leader must understand these concepts and their effects on the unit.

This section also includes selected readings on disorder in units.

PREJUDICE, BIGOTRY AND DISCRIMINATION

Prejudice. Perhaps the clearest and shortest definition of prejudice is prejudgment on insufficient grounds. Thus, prejudice can affirm or negate, but in either case it operates with inadequate information. Any individual, therefore, can be racially prejudiced, be he black, white, red, or brown; but, no individual can be racist in isolation. He must be able to translate his racial prejudice into societal forms that perpetuate a particular color group's advantages over another color group.

Prejudice does tie into one of the marks of racism however -- the misplacement of the problem. Most whites perceive and filter racial data through a prejudgment framework that poses black as the problem in race -- either to be controlled because of strength or helped because of weakness. The confusion between prejudice and racism appears over the issue of black and white racism. Although blacks can in our society be prejudiced -- misjudge a particular situation because of scanty data -- blacks cannot be racist in America regardless of their views -- prejudiced or not. They are not in a sufficiently influential stance as yet to translate, unilaterally their objectives into power, structure and cultural form.¹

Bigotry. Bigotry is a more intensive form of prejudice and carries the negative side of prejudgment. Webster says, "A bigot is someone who obstinately and irrationally, often intolerantly is devoted to his own church, party, belief or opinion." Bigotry, then, is a state of mind and appropriate behavior ensuing from such a condition.¹

Discrimination. Perhaps the greatest confusion in social concepts is between racism and discrimination.

Again, the standard dictionary definition of discrimination is "the act, practice, or an instance of discriminating categorically rather than individually as the according or deferential treatment to persons of an alien race or religion (as by formal or informal restrictions imposed in regard to housing, employment or use of public community facilities)."

Racial discrimination of course excludes by color or presupposed color differences. As with the other race related words, racial discrimination illumines part of our definition of racism -- denial of access to structures and resources because of color. Thus the press for open housing is justified on a non-discriminatory policy so that all people *regardless of color* can live where they want and not just where the discriminatory group please.

There are two limitations to the concept of discrimination and its counterpart non-discrimination which keep it from being identical with racism and the elimination of racism. The conceptual problems can be most clearly illustrated by returning to the opening example of creating a racist community. Non-discrimination policies usually overlook the group phenomenon. Rather, they focus on blacks to individual inclusion ("let a few blacks in but don't threaten the power"). Furthermore non-discrimination policies usually assume the predominant cultural standards as given. Institutional openness does not necessarily mean flexibility of standards and appreciation of difference. So, in practice, open housing has meant in America letting individual blacks and other color groups into white communities on white terms. A non-discriminatory stance usually does not encourage powerful groups of blacks to move in nor does it mobilize whites to question their own cultural standards and seek alternatives.

There is a second problem with the notions of discrimination and non-discrimination. Racial discrimination is *color conscious*, non-discrimination is *color blind*. During the non-discriminatory phase of government intervention in industrial hiring for example, all records of color were to be stricken from applications and promotion files. "If color is a block, eliminate the color criteria," the argument went. However, even if color codes were eliminated (too many cases prove whites found other devious ways to track black), the non-discriminatory posture did not increase dramatically the flow of minorities into key positions in corporations and unions nor did it accelerate minority migration into white communities. Non-discriminatory policies stressed individual inclusion and kept the group power clearly white; informal and formal standards created an alien atmosphere which forced blacks to assume white styles in order to make it in the organizations. What anti-racists have learned is that color blind anti-exclusion policies don't work. What are needed are color conscious aggressive inclusion to guarantee equal employment opportunity.

To some extent the switch from a non-discriminatory to anti-discriminatory stance by government and other agencies has pressed a more aggressive program. Now the government, when it does enforce the laws, requires industry (as one example) to submit goals and timetables for upward mobility of minority groups as part of industrial affirmative action programs. But, still, anti-discrimination is not a full-blown anti-racist approach because of limited attention to group power and ethnocentric standards. Most, if not all, anti-discrimination programs ignore the need for a total new white consciousness.¹

Prejudice versus Discrimination.

Prejudice is derived from "pre-judgment" and refers to a psychological phenomenon occurring within an individual. Racial discrimination, on the other hand, implies action. It refers to an objective difference in treatment. A person can be prejudiced without discriminating and can discriminate without being prejudiced. Someone's prejudice doesn't harm anybody until they do something on the basis of the prejudice -- in other words, until they discriminate.²

Prejudice Without Discrimination. There are two kinds of social situations in which the ordinary pattern of human behavior is one of being prejudiced but not discriminating. One occurs when the individual who is prejudiced has no opportunity to discriminate; the other occurs when the punishments for discriminating or the rewards for not doing so outweigh the desire to discriminate.

Under ordinary circumstances, the attitude of prejudice means that one would like to discriminate. But a Wyoming rancher may be anti-Semitic without indulging in any acts against the objects of his prejudice. If there are no Jews in his social environment, the opportunity to discriminate does not rise.

A New York department-store owner may be as Anti-Semitic as the Wyoming rancher, have opportunities to discriminate every day against Jewish job applicants and Jewish customers, and choose not to do so. If he is aware that the State Commission Against Discrimination might investigate complaints against him if he discriminated in hiring and that his Jewish customers might take their business elsewhere if he openly expressed his Anti-Semitic prejudices by discriminatory behavior, these potential punishments and rewards may lead him to refrain from translating attitude into action. He can remain prejudiced, but he will not discriminate because of the cost to him of doing so.³

Discrimination Without Prejudice. A person may, on the other hand, be unprejudiced against a minority but choose to discriminate against them because of the rewards for discriminating or the punishment for failing to do so. Owners of barbershops may tell you that they are not prejudiced against Negroes but they are afraid that if they allow Negroes to come to the shop for haircuts, white clients will become offended and leave. So they discriminate against Negroes. Undoubtedly there are such barbers, and in this instance we have a case of discrimination without prejudice.

The interesting thing is, however, that you hear the same story from owners of restaurants and motels, bowling alleys and golf courses, bars and from doctors and dentists. A person's claim that he is free from prejudice while others have it cannot always be accepted at face value as evidence that an unprejudiced person has been pressured into discriminating. We must look to large groups, to the general public, and analyze this behavior within the context of Bienstedt's point about the power of the majority to set normative standards. When a Negro searches for an apartment in a section of town that is not inhabited by other Negroes, the white owner usually says that he himself is not prejudiced, and would rent but for the fact that others in the neighborhood would make life miserable for the Negro, and for him, the white owner. The owner is probably correct as to the behavioral consequences. But all the owners say the same thing, that it is not they but the neighbors. It becomes obvious to the outside observer that the range of owners is actually the neighbors. Thus while it is certainly possible to discriminate without being prejudiced, it is not often a likely combination. It is far more likely that the two go together. For this reason, perhaps, the terms are often used interchangeably.³

FOOTNOTES

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STEREOTYPING

According to Webster's definition, a stereotype is "a standardized mental picture held in common by members of a group and representing an oversimplified opinion, affective attitude, or uncritical judgment (as of a person, a race, an issue, or an event)." For instance, the stereotype of the Negro in the United States is of one who is lazy, slovenly, happy-go-lucky, and irresponsible. It matters little what a black might do, for he is seen first of all as a Negro, and only secondly as the perpetrator of the deed. Racial stereotyping is shown by the fact that whenever a black is not seen as conforming to the stereotype, he is still regarded not as a clean, meticulous, and responsible man, but as an "exceptional Negro."¹

Such well-learned and strongly held beliefs enable whites to maintain power on highly desired positions. In the American occupational structure, we find most blacks in occupations of service and semi-skilled and unskilled labor. Persons in the power positions of ownership are predominantly members of the dominant white group. The privileged maintain their own position by slowing the access of the less privileged to more desirable positions. In a well-developed system of discrimination, this will include behavior ranging from a distortion of history to what Robert K. Merton has called the self-fulfilling prophecy. If enough people believe in a doctrine, such as racial inferiority, for long enough, the doctrine itself will have consequences whether or not it is factually true. A white might feel that blacks are inferior. Therefore, it is a waste of money to try to educate blacks at the same level as whites. If one believes these statements, then it is sensible to allocate less money to Negro schools and be satisfied with inferior facilities, teacher training, and curricula. This, as you can see, is a vicious circle. The children of this inferior educational system score lower on IQ and achievement tests than white students. The end product of the prophecy that blacks are inferior becomes evidence for the inferiority of blacks, and in the end, the prophecy indeed becomes the condition.²

But why are stereotypes undesirable? Many theorists have regarded stereotypes as "wrong," either because they do not correspond to the facts about the ethnic group, or because they were arrived at through an unacceptable process. Brown, a social psychologist has stated that stereotypes are often not well-founded through direct experiences. Brown states that stereotypes often serve to rationalize selfish behavior and are often not sensitive to contrary evidence. The stereotyper believes that it is undesirable characteristics of the group that he is stigmatizing that causes his hostility toward that group, when he does not realize that it is his preexisting hostility that causes "all possible between-group differences to be interpreted in terms of the despicable characteristics inherent in the outgroup."³

Ethnic stereotypes may serve as significant determinants of behavior toward ethnic group behaviors. Yet, on the data available such a conviction must remain a hypothesis. Much of the ambiguity in this area can be resolved with the development of more sophisticated instruments for measuring stereotypes. With the development of better assessment procedures, the role of ethnic stereotypes as determinants of behavior toward ethnic group members can be better illustrated.⁴

FOOTNOTES

1. Raymond W. Mack, ed., Race Class and Power, New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1968, pp 146-147.
2. Raymond W. Mack, ed., Prejudice and Race Relations, New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1970, pp 106-107.
3. John C. Brigham, "Ethnic Stereotypes," Psychological Bulletin, 76 (1971) pp 19-20.
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RUMORS

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GORDON ALLPORT

LEO POSTMAN

THE BASIC PSYCHOLOGY OF RUMOR

RUMORS IN WARTIME

During the year 1942, rumor became a national problem of considerable urgency. Its first dangerous manifestation was felt soon after the initial shock of Pearl Harbor. This traumatic event dislocated our normal channels of communication by bringing into existence an unfamiliar and unwelcome, if at the same time a relatively mild censorship of news, and it simultaneously dislocated the lives of millions of citizens whose futures abruptly became hostages to fortune.

This combination of circumstances created the most fertile of all possible soils for the propagation of rumor. We now know that rumors concerning a given subject-matter will circulate within a group in proportion to the importance and the ambiguity of this subject-matter in the lives of individual members of the group.

The affair of Pearl Harbor was fraught with both importance and ambiguity to nearly every citizen. The affair was important because of the potential danger it represented to all of us, and because its aftermath of mobilization affected every life. It was ambiguous because no one seemed quite certain of the extent of, reasons for, or consequences of the attack. Since the two conditions of rumor -- importance and ambiguity -- were at a maximum, we had an unprecedented flood of what became known as "Pearl Harbor rumors." It was said that our fleet was "wiped out," that Washington didn't dare to tell the extent of the damage, that Hawaii was in the hands of the Japanese. So widespread and so demoralizing were these tales that, on February 23, 1942, President Roosevelt broadcast a speech devoted entirely to denying the harmful rumors and to reiterating the official report on the losses.

Did the solemn assurance of the Commander in Chief restore the confidence of the people and eliminate the tales of suspicion and fear? It so happens that a bit of objective evidence on this question became available to us almost by accident. On the twentieth of February, before the President's speech, we had asked approximately 200 college students whether they thought our losses at Pearl Harbor were "greater," "much greater," or "no greater" than the official Knox report had stated. Among these students, 68 percent had believed the demoralizing rumors in preference to the official report, and insisted that the losses were "greater" or "much greater" than Washington admitted. Then came the President's speech. On February 25 an equivalent group of college students were asked the same question. Among those who had not heard or read the speech the proportion of rumor-believers was still about two third. But among those who were acquainted with the President's speech, the number of rumor-believers fell by 24 percent. It is important to note that, in spite of the utmost efforts of the highest authority allay anxiety, approximately 44 percent of the college population studied were too profoundly affected by the event and by the resulting rumors to accept the reassurance.

The year 1942 was characterized by floods of similar fear-inspired tales. Shipping losses were fantastically exaggerated. Knapp records one instance where a collier was sunk through accident near the Cape Cod Canal. So great was the anxiety of the New England public that this incident became a fantastic tale of an American ship being torpedoed with the loss of thousands of nurses who were aboard her.

This paper was first published in the Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences in 1945, and copyright by the Academy. It is printed here by permission of the publisher and copyright holder. Dr. Allport is a professor in the Department of Social Relations at Harvard; Dr. Postman is a professor of psychology at Indiana.

¹R. H. Knapp, "A Psychology of Rumor," Pub. Op. Quart., 1944, VIII, 22-37.

Such wild stories, as we have said, are due to the grave importance of the subject for the average citizen and to the ambiguity to him of the objective situation. This ambiguity may result from the failure of communications, or from a total lack of authentic news, a condition that often prevailed in war-torn countries or among isolated bands of troops who had few reliable sources of news. Again, the ambiguity may be due to the receipt of conflicting news stories, no one more credible than another; or it may be due (as in the case of the Pearl Harbor rumors) to the distrust of many people in the candor of the Administration and in the operation of wartime censorship. As the war progressed, a higher degree of confidence in our news services was rapidly achieved, and rumors concurrently subsided.

In addition to the fear-rumors of 1942, which persisted until the tide of victory commenced to turn, there was a still more numerous crop of hostility-rumors whose theme dealt always with the shortcomings, disloyalty, or inefficiency of some special group of cobelligerents. The Army, the Navy, the Administration, our allies, or American minority groups were the most frequent scapegoats in these rumors. We were told that the Army wasted whole sides of beef, that the Russians greased their guns with lend-lease butter, that Negroes were saving icepicks for a revolt, and that Jews were evading the draft.

These hostility rumors were the most numerous of all. An analysis of 1,000 rumors collected from all parts of the country in 1942² revealed that they could be classified fairly readily as:

Hostility (wedge-driving) rumors	= 66 percent
Fear (bogey) rumors	= 25 percent
Wish (pipe-dream) rumors	= 2 percent
Unclassifiable rumors	= 7 percent

To be sure, the proportion of ear and wish rumors soon altered. As victory approached, especially on the eve of V-E and V-J day, the whirlwind of rumors was almost wholly concerned with the cessation of hostilities, reflecting a goal-gradient phenomenon whereby rumor under special conditions hastens the completion of a desired event. But, throughout the war, and continuing to the present, it is probably true that the majority of all rumors are of a more or less slanderous nature, expressing hostility against this group or that.

The principal reason why rumor circulates can be briefly stated. It circulates because it serves the twin function of explaining and relieving emotional tensions felt by individuals.³

The Pearl Harbor rumors, for example, helped to explain to the teller why he felt such distressing anxiety. Would his jitters not be justified if it were true that our protecting fleet was "wiped out" at Pearl Harbor? Something serious must have happened to account for his anxiety. Families deprived of sons, husbands, or father vaguely cast around for someone to blame for their privation. Well, the Jews, who were said to be evading the draft, were "obviously" not doing their share and thus the heavy burden falling on "good citizens" was explained. True, this draft-evasion charge did not last very long, owing, no doubt, to the inescapable evidence of heavy enlistments among Jews and of their heroic conduct in the war. But when shortages were felt, the traditional Jewish scapegoat was again trotted out as a convenient explanation of the privations suffered. Their operation of the black market "explained" our annoying experiences in the futile pursuit of an evening lamb chop.

To blame others verbally is not only a mode of explanation for one's emotional distress, but is at the same time a mode of relief. Everyone knows the reduction of tension that comes after administering a tongue lashing. It matters little whether the victim of the tongue lashing is guilty or not. Dressing down anyone to his face or behind his back has the strange property of temporarily reducing hatred felt against this person or, what is more remarkable, of reducing hatred felt against any person or thing.

²R. H. Knapp, *ibid.*, 25.

³This brief formula leaves out of account only the relatively few rumors which seem to serve the purpose of "phatic communication" -- a form of idle conversation to facilitate social intercourse. When a lull occurs in a conversation, an individual may "fill in" with the latest bit of gossip that comes to mind, without being motivated by the deeper tensions that underlie the great bulk of rumor-mongering.

In this paper we cannot enter into a fuller discussion of the reasons why people believe some rumors and not others. This question is carefully studied by F. H. Allport and M. Lepkin, "Wartime Rumors of Waste and Special Privilege: Why Some People Believe Them," *J. Abnorm. & Soc. Psychol.*, 1945, XL, 3-36.

If you wish to deflate a taut inner tube you can unscrew the valve or you can make a puncture. Unscrewing the valve corresponds to directing our hostility toward the Nazis or Japanese, who were the cause of our suffering. Making a puncture corresponds to displacing the hostility upon innocent victims or scapegoats. In either case, the air will escape and relaxation follow. To blame Jews, Negroes, the Administration, brass hats, the OPA, or the politicians is to bring a certain relief from accumulated feelings of hostility, whatever their true cause. Relief, odd as it may seem, comes also from "bogey" rumors. To tell my neighbor that the Cape Cod Canal is choked with corpses is an easy manner of projecting into the outer world my own choking anxieties concerning my son or my friends in combat service. Having shared my anxiety with my friend by telling him exaggerated tales of losses or of atrocities, I no longer feel so much alone and helpless. Through my rumor-spreading, others, too, are put "on the alert." I therefore feel reassured.

EXPERIMENTAL APPROACH

Leaving now the broader social setting of the problem, we ask ourselves what processes in the human mind account for the spectacular distortions and exaggerations that enter into the rumor-process, and lead to so much damage to the public intelligence and public conscience.

Since it is very difficult to trace in detail the course of a rumor in everyday life, we have endeavored by an experimental technique to study as many of the basic phenomena as possible under relatively well controlled laboratory conditions.

Our method is simple. A slide is thrown upon a screen. Ordinarily, a semidramatic picture is used containing a large number of related details. Six or seven subjects, who have not seen the picture, wait in an adjacent room. One of them enters and takes a position where he cannot see the screen. Someone in the audience (or the experimenter) describes the picture, giving about twenty details in the account. A second subject enters the room and stands beside the first subject who proceeds to tell him all he can about the picture. (All subjects are under instruction to report as "accurately as possible what you have heard.") The first subject then takes his seat, and a third enters to hear the story from the second subject. Each succeeding subject hears and repeats the story in the same way. Thus, the audience is able to watch the deterioration of the rumor by comparing the successive versions with the stimulus-picture which remains on the screen throughout the experiment.

This procedure has been used with over forty groups of subjects, including college undergraduates, Army trainees in ASTP, members of community forums, patients in an Army hospital, members of a Teachers' Round Table, and police officials in a training course. In addition to these adult subjects, children in a private school were used, in grades from the fourth through the ninth. In some experiments, Negro subjects took part along with whites, a fact which, as we shall see, had important consequences when the test-pictures depicted scenes with a "racial angle."

All of these experiments took place before an audience (20-300 spectators). By using volunteer subjects, one eliminates the danger of stage fright. There was, however, a social influence in all the audience situations. The magnitude of this influence was studied in a control group of experiments where no one was present in the room excepting the subject and the experimenter.

At the outset, it is necessary to admit that in five respects this experimental situation fails to reproduce accurately the conditions of rumor-spreading in everyday life. (1) The effect of an audience is considerable, tending to create caution and to shorten the report. Without an audience subjects gave on the average twice as many details as with an audience. (2) The effect of the instructions is to maximize accuracy and induce caution. In ordinary rumor-spreading, there is no critical experimenter on hand to see whether the tale is rightly repeated. (3) There is no opportunity for subjects to ask questions of his informer. In ordinary rumor-spreading, the listener can chat with his informer and, if he wishes, cross-examine him. (4) The lapse of time between hearing and telling in the experimental situation is very slight. In ordinary rumor-spreading, it is much greater. (5) Most important of all, the conditions of motivation are quite different. In the experiment, the subject is striving for accuracy. His own fears, hates, wishes are not likely to be aroused under the experimental conditions. In short, he is not the spontaneous rumor-agent that he is in ordinary life. His stake in spreading the experimental rumor is neither personal nor deeply motivated.

It should be noted that all of these conditions, excepting the third, may be expected to enhance the accuracy of the report in the experimental situation, and to yield far less distortion and projection than in real-life rumor-spreading.

In spite of the fact that our experiment does not completely reproduce the normal conditions for rumor, still we believe that all essential changes and distortions are represented in our results. "Indoor" rumors may not be as lively, as emotionally toned, or as extreme as "outdoor" rumors and yet the same basic phenomena are demonstrable in both.

What happens in both real-life and laboratory rumors is a complex course of distortion in which three interrelated tendencies are clearly distinguishable.

LEVELING

As rumor travels, it tends to grow shorter, more concise, more easily grasped and told. In successive versions, fewer words are used and fewer details are mentioned.

The number of details retained declines most sharply at the beginning of the series of reproductions. The number continues to decline, more slowly, throughout the experiment. Figure 1 shows the percentage of the details initially given which are retained in each successive reproduction.

The number of items enumerated in the description from the screen constitutes the 100 percent level, and all subsequent percentages are calculated from that base. The curve, based on 11 experiments shows that about 70 percent of the details are eliminated in the course of five or six mouth-to-mouth transmissions, even when virtually no time lapse intervenes.

The curve is like the famous Ebbinghaus curve for decline in individual retention, though in his experiments the interval between initial learning and successive reproductions was not as short as under the conditions of our experiment. Comparing the present curve with Ebbinghaus's, we conclude that social memory accomplishes as much leveling within a few minutes as individual memory accomplishes in weeks of time.

Leveling (in our experiments) never proceeds to the point of total obliteration. The stabilization of the last part of the curve is a finding of some consequence. It indicates (1) that a short concise statement is likely to be faithfully reproduced; (2) that when the report has become short and concise, the subject has very little detail to select from and the possibilities of further distortion grow fewer; (3) that the assignment becomes so easy that a virtually rote memory serves to hold the material in mind. In all cases, the terminal and the ante-terminal reports are more similar than any two preceding reports.

The reliance on rote is probably more conspicuous in our experiments than in ordinary rumor-spreading where accuracy is not the aim, where time interval interferes with rote retention, and where strong interests prevent literal memory. There are, however, conditions where rote memory plays a part in ordinary rumor-spreading. If the individual is motivated by no stronger desire than to make conversation, he may find himself idly repeating what he has recently heard in the form in which he heard it. If a rumor has become so crisp and brief, so sloganized, that it requires no effort to retain it in the literal form in which it was heard, rote memory seems to be involved. For example:

The Jews are evading the draft;
The CIO is communist controlled;
The Russians are nationalizing their women.

We conclude that whenever verbal material is transmitted among a group of people, whether as rumor, legend, or history, change will be in the direction of greater brevity and conciseness. Leveling, however, is not a random phenomenon. Our protocols show again and again that items which are of particular interest to the subjects, facts which confirm their expectations and help them to structure the story, are the last to be leveled out and often are retained to the final reproduction.

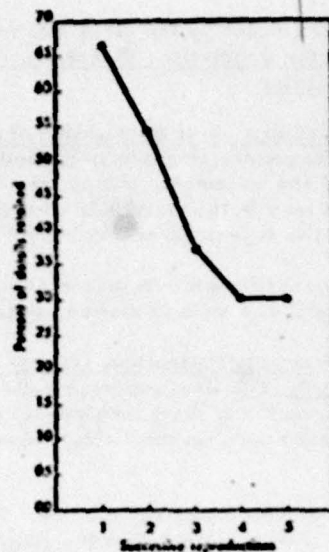


Figure 1. Percentage of details originally given which are retained in each successive reproduction.

SHARPENING

We may define sharpening as the selective perception, retention, and reporting of a limited number of details from a larger context. Sharpening is inevitably the reciprocal of leveling. The one cannot exist without the other, for what little remains to a rumor after leveling has taken place is by contrast unavoidably featured.

Although sharpening occurs in every protocol, the same items are not always emphasized. Sometimes, a trifling detail such as a subway advertising card becomes the focus of attention and report. Around it the whole rumor becomes structured. But, in most experiments, this same detail drops out promptly, and is never heard of after the first reproduction.

One way in which sharpening seems to be determined is through the retention of odd, or attention-getting words which, having appeared early in the series, catch the attention of each successive listener and are often passed on in preference to other details intrinsically more important to the story. An instance of this effect is seen in a series of protocols where the statement, "there is a boy stealing and a man remonstrating with him" is transmitted throughout the entire series. The unusual word "remonstrate" somehow caught the attention of each successive listener and was passed on without change.

Sharpening may also take a numerical turn, as in the experiments where emphasized items become reduplicated in the telling. For example, in reports of a picture containing the figure of a Negro, whose size and unusual appearance invite emphasis, we find that the number of Negroes reported in the picture jumps from one to "four" or "several."

There is also temporal sharpening manifested in the tendency to describe events as occurring in the immediate present. What happens here and now is of greatest interest and importance to the perceiver. In most instances, to be sure, the story is started in the present tense, but even when the initial description is couched in the past tense, immediate reversal occurs and the scene is contemporized by the listener. Obviously, this effect cannot occur in rumors which deal specifically with some alleged past (or future) event. One cannot contemporize the rumor that "the Queen Mary sailed this morning (or will sail tomorrow) with 10,000 troops aboard." Yet it not infrequently happens that stories gain in sharpening by tying them to present conditions. For example, a statement that Mr. X bought a chicken in the black market last week and paid \$1.50 a pound for it may be (and usually is)

rendered, "I hear they are charging \$1.50 a pound on the black market for chicken." People are more interested in today than in last week, and the temptation, therefore, is to adapt (assimilate) the time of occurrence, when possible, to this interest.

Sharpening often takes place when there is a clear implication of movement. They flying of airplanes and the bursting of bombs are frequently stressed in the telling. Similarly, the falling flower pot in one picture is often retained and accented. Indeed, the "falling motif" may be extended to other objects such as the cigar which a man in the picture is smoking. In one rumor, it is said to be falling (like the flower pot), though in reality it is quite securely held between his teeth.

Sometimes sharpening is achieved by ascribing movement to objects which are really stationary. Thus, a subway train, clearly at a standstill at a subway station, is frequently described as moving.

Relative size is also a primary determinant of attention. Objects that are prominent because of their size tend to be retained and sharpened. The first reporter calls attention to their prominence and each successive listener receives an impression of their largeness. He then proceeds to sharpen this impression in his memory. The large Negro may, in the telling, become "four Negroes," or may become "a gigantic statue of a Negro."

There are verbal as well as physical determinants of attention. Thus, there is a pronounced tendency for labels to persist, especially if they serve to set the stage for the story. One picture is usually introduced by some version of the statement, "This is a battle scene," and this label persists throughout the series of reproductions. Another story usually opens with the statement, "This is a picture of a race riot."

To explain this type of sharpening, we may invoke the desire of the subject to achieve some spatial and temporal scheme for the story to come. Such orientation is essential in ordinary life and appears to constitute a strong need even when imaginal material is dealt with.

An additional factor making for preferential retention of spatial and temporal labels is the primacy effect. An item that comes first in a series is likely to be better remembered than subsequent items. Usually, the "label" indicating place and time comes at the beginning of a report and thus benefits by the primacy effect.

Sharpening also occurs in relation to familiar symbols. In one series of reports, a church and a cross are among the most frequently reported items, although they are relatively minor details in the original picture. Those well-known symbols "pack" meaning and are familiar to all. The subject feels secure in reporting them because they have an accustomed concreteness that the other details in the picture lack. Retention of familiar symbols advances the process of conventionalization that is so prominent an aspect of rumor-embedding. In two of our pictures are a night stick, symbol of police authority, and a razor, stereotyped symbol of Negro violence. These symbols are always retained and sharpened.

Explanations added by the reporter to the description transmitted to him comprise a final form of sharpening. They represent a tendency to put "closure" upon a story which is felt to be otherwise incomplete. They illustrate the "effort after meaning" which customarily haunts the subject who finds himself in an unstructured situation. Such need for sharpening by explanation becomes especially strong when the story has been badly distorted and the report contains implausible and incompatible items. As an example, one subject who received a badly confused description of the subway scene inferred that there must have been "an accident." This explanation seemed plausible enough to successive listeners and so was not only accepted by them but sharpened in the telling.

In everyday rumors, sharpening through the introduction of specious explanations, is very apparent. Indeed, as we have said, one of the principal functions of a rumor is to explain personal tensions. To accept tales of Army waste or special privilege among OPA officials could "explain" food shortages and discomfort. Such stories, therefore, find wide credence.

Here, perhaps, is the place to take issue with the popular notion that rumors tend to expand like snowballs, become overelaborate, and verbose. Actually, the course of rumor is toward brevity, whether in the laboratory or in everyday life. Such exaggeration as exists is nearly always a sharpening of some feature resident in the original stimulus-situation. The distortion caused by sharpening is,

of course, enormous in extent; but we do not find that we need the category of "elaboration" to account for the changes we observe.

ASSIMILATION

It is apparent that both leveling and sharpening are selective processes. But what is it that leads to the obliteration of some details and the pointing-up of others; and what accounts for all transpositions, importations, and other falsifications that mark the course of rumor? The answer is to be found in the process of assimilation, which has to do with the powerful attractive force exerted upon rumor by habits, interests, and sentiments existing in the listener's mind.

Assimilation to Principal Theme

It generally happens that items become sharpened or leveled to fit the leading motif of the story, and they become consistent with this motif in such a way as to make the resulting story more coherent, plausible, and well-rounded. Thus, in one series of rumors, the war theme is preserved and emphasized in all reports. In some experiments using the same picture, a chaplain is introduced, or people (in the plural) are reported as being killed; the ambulance becomes a Red Cross station; demolished buildings are multiplied in the telling; the extent of devastation is exaggerated. All these reports, false though they are, fit the principal theme -- a battle incident. If the reported details were actually present in the picture, they would make a "better" Gestalt. Objects wholly extraneous to the theme are never introduced--no apple pies, no ballet dancers, no baseball players.

Besides importations, we find other falsifications in the interest of supporting the principal theme. The original picture shows that the Red Cross truck is loaded with explosives, but it is ordinarily reported as carrying medical supplies which is, of course, the way it "ought" to be.

The Negro in this same picture is nearly always described as a soldier, although his clothes might indicate that he is a civilian partisan. It is a "better" configuration to have a soldier in action on the battlefield than to have a civilian among regular soldiers.

Good Continuation

Other falsifications result from the attempt to complete incompleting pictures or to fill in gaps which exist in the stimulus field. The effort is again to make the resulting whole coherent, and meaningful. Thus, the sign, "Locw's Pa. . . ." over a moving picture theater is invariably read and reproduced as "Locw's Palace" and Gene Antry becomes Gene Autry. "Lucky Rakes" are reported as "Lucky Strikes."

All these, and many instances like them, are examples of what has been called, in Gestalt terms, "closures." Falsifications of perception and memory they are, but they occur in the interests of bringing about a more coherent, consistent mental configuration. Every detail is assimilated to the principal theme, and "good continuation" is sought in order to round out meaning where it is lacking or incomplete.

Assimilation by Condensation

It sometimes seems as though memory tries to burden itself as little as possible. For instance, instead of remembering two items, it is more economical to fuse them into one. Instead of a series of subway cards, each of which has its own identity, reports sometimes refer only to "a billboard," or perhaps to a "lot of advertising." In another picture, it is more convenient to refer to "all kinds of fruit," rather than to enumerate all the different items on the vendor's cart. Again, the occupants of the car come to be described by some such summary phrase as "several people sitting and standing in the car." Their individuality is lost.

Assimilation to Expectation

Just as details are changed or imported to bear out the simplified theme that the listener has in mind, so also many items take a form that supports the agent's habits of thought. Things are perceived and remembered the way they usually are. Thus a drugstore, in one stimulus-picture, is situated in the middle of a block; but, in the telling, it moves up to the corner of the two streets and becomes the familiar "corner drugstore." A Red Cross ambulance is said to carry medical supplies

rather than explosives, because it "ought" to be carrying medical supplies. The kilometers on the signposts are changed into miles, since Americans are accustomed to having distances indicated in miles.

The most spectacular of all our assimilative distortions is the finding that, in more than half of our experiments, a razor moves (in the telling) from a white man's hand to a Negro's hand. This result is a clear instance of assimilation to stereotyped expectancy. Black men are "supposed" to carry razors, white men not.

Assimilation to Linguistic Habits

Expectancy is often merely a matter of fitting perceived and remembered material to preexisting verbal clichés, which exert a powerful influence in the conventionalization of rumors. Words often arouse compelling familiar images in the listener's mind and fix for him the categories in which he must think of the event and the value that he must attach to it. A "zoot-suit sharpie" packs much more meaning and carries more affect than more objective words, such as, "a colored man with pegged trousers, wide-brimmed hat, etc." Rumors are commonly told in verbal stereotypes which imply prejudicial judgment, such as "draft dodger," "Japanese spy," "brass hat," "dumb Swede," "long-haired professor," and the like.

MORE HIGHLY MOTIVATED ASSIMILATION

Although the conditions of our experiment do not give full play to emotional tendencies underlying gossip, rumor, and scandal, such tendencies are so insistent that they express themselves even under laboratory conditions.

Assimilation to Interest

It sometimes happens that a picture containing women's dresses, as a trifling detail in the original scene, becomes, in the telling, a story exclusively about dresses. This sharpening occurs when the rumor is told by groups of women, but never when told by men.

A picture involving police was employed with a group of police officers as subjects. In the resulting protocol, the entire reproduction centered around the police officer (with whom the subjects undoubtedly felt keen sympathy or "identification"). Furthermore, the night-stick, a symbol of his power, is greatly sharpened and becomes the main object of the controversy. The tale as a whole is protective of, and partial to, the policeman.

Assimilation to Prejudice

Hard as it is in an experimental situation to obtain distortions that arise from hatred, yet we have in our material a certain opportunity to trace the hostile complex of racial attitudes.

We have spoken of the picture which contained a white man holding a razor while arguing with a Negro. In over half of the experiments with this picture, the final report indicated that the Negro (instead of the white man) held the razor in his hand, and several times he was reported as "brandishing it widely" as a "threatening" the white man with it.

Whether this ominous distortion reflects hatred and fear of Negroes we cannot definitely say. In some cases, these deeper emotions may be the assimilative factor at work. And yet the distortion may occur even in subjects who have no anti-Negro bias. It is an unthinking cultural stereotype that the Negro is hot tempered and addicted to the use of razors as weapons. The rumor, though mischievous, may reflect chiefly an assimilation of the story to verbal clichés and conventional expectation. Distortion in this case may not mean assimilation to hostility. Much so-called prejudice is, of course, a mere matter of conforming to current folkways by accepting prevalent beliefs about an out-group.

Whether or not this razor-shift reflects deep hatred and fear on the part of white subjects, it is certain that the reports of our Negro subjects betray a motivated type of distortion. Because it was to their interest as members of the race to deemphasize the racial caricature, Negro subjects almost invariably avoided mention of color. One of them hearing a rumor containing the phrase, "a Negro zoot-suiter," reported, "There is a man wearing a zoot suit, possibly a Negro."

For one picture, a Negro reporter said that the colored man in the center of the picture "is being maltreated." Though this interpretation may be correct, it is likewise possible that he is a rioter about to be arrested by the police officer. White and Negro subjects are very likely to perceive, remember, and interpret this particular situation in quite opposite ways.

Thus, even under laboratory conditions, we find assimilation in terms of deep-lying emotional predispositions. Our rumors, like those of everyday life, tend to fit into, and support, the occupational interests, class or racial memberships, or personal prejudices of the reporter.

CONCLUSION: THE EMBEDDING PROCESS

Leveling, sharpening, and assimilation are not independent mechanisms. They function simultaneously, and reflect a singular subjectifying process that results in the autism and falsification which are so characteristic of rumor. If we were to attempt to summarize what happens in a few words we might say:

Whenever a stimulus field is of potential importance to an individual, but at the same time unclear, or susceptible of divergent interpretations, a subjective structuring process is started. Although the process is complex (involving, as it does, leveling, sharpening, and assimilation), its essential nature can be characterized as an effort to reduce the stimulus to a simple and meaningful structure that has adaptive significance for the individual in terms of his own interests and experience. The process begins at the moment the ambiguous situation is perceived, but its effects are greatest if memory intervenes. The longer the time that elapses after the stimulus is perceived the greater the threefold change is likely to be. Also, the more people involved in a serial report, the greater the change is likely to be, until the rumor has reached an aphoristic brevity, and is repeated by rote.

Now, this three-pronged process turns out to be characteristic not only of rumor but of the individual memory function as well. It has been uncovered and described in the experiments on individual retention conducted by Wulf, Gibson, Allport,⁴ and, in Bartlett's memory experiments carried out both on individuals and on groups.⁵

Up to now, however, there has been no agreement on precisely the terminology to use, nor upon the adequacy of the three functions we here describe. We believe that our conceptualization of the three-fold course of change and decay is sufficient to account, not only for our own experimental findings and for the experiments of others in this area, but also for the distortions that everyday rumors undergo.

For lack of a better designation, we speak of the three-fold change as the embedding process. What seems to occur in all our experiments and in all related studies is that each subject finds the outer stimulus-world far too hard to grasp and retain in its objective character. For his own personal uses, it must be recast to fit not only his span of comprehension and his span of retention, but, like wise, his own personal needs and interests. What was outer becomes inner; what was objective becomes subjective. In telling a rumor, the kernel of objective information that he received has become so embedded into his own dynamic mental life that the product is chiefly one of projection. Into the rumor, he projects the deficiencies of his retentive processes, as well as his own effort to engender meaning upon an ambiguous field, and the product reveals much of his own emotional needs, including his anxieties, hates, and wishes. When several rumor-agents have been involved in this embedding process, the net result of the serial reproduction reflects the lowest common denominator of cultural interest, of memory span, and of group sentiment and prejudice.

One may ask whether a rumor must always be false. We answer that in virtually every case, the embedding process is so extensive that no credibility whatever should be ascribed to the product. If a report does turn out to be trustworthy, we usually find that secure standards of evidence have somehow been present to which successive agents could refer for purposes of validation. Perhaps the morning newspaper or the radio have held the rumor under control, but when such secure standards of verification are available, it is questionable whether we should speak of rumor at all.

⁴ Conveniently summarized in K. Koffka, *Principles of Gestalt Psychology* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1935).

⁵ F. C. Bartlett, *Remembering* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1932).

There are, of course, borderline cases where we may not be able to say whether a given tidbit should or should not be called a rumor. But if we define rumor (and we herewith propose that we should), as a proposition for belief of topical reference, without secure standards of evidence being present -- then it follows from the facts we have presented that rumor will suffer such serious distortion through the embedding process, that it is never under any circumstances a valid guide for belief or conduct.

RACISM

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The following documents have been utilized in preparing this section and occasional excerpts or paraphrasing without full citation is hereby acknowledged:

Race Relations Seminars, Handbook for Moderators, Coordinators, and Commanders; Race Relations Coordinating Group, Fort Benning, Georgia, August 1971, by 1LT Philip C. Lyman.

Commanders Notebook, Equal Opportunity and Human Relations, Headquarters, United States Army, Europe and Seventh Army, 1970.

Race Relations Program at Fort Benning, Race Relations Coordinating Group, Fort Benning, Georgia 31905, August 1971.

Race Relations Pamphlet for Commanders and Equal Opportunity Officers, Directorate of Personnel Plans, Headquarters, USAF, September 1971, (Working paper).

INSTITUTIONAL RACISM

Racial discrimination, intended or not, does exist in the United States Armed Forces today. There is evidence of this at all levels and it takes two general forms: (A) Personal Racism, and; (B) Institutional Racism.

A. Acts of personal (individual) racism, intended or not, are more easily discernible, because they are usually accompanied by some overt behavior which is prejudicial toward those of another race. They can be prevented, if recognized early enough and their subsequent repetition can be anticipated and averted by clear and direct application of the principles of good leadership and common sense.

B. On the other hand, institutional racism is less clear since its existence is usually manifested by statistical patterns not immediately obvious in individual cases and its perpetuation is rooted in long-standing traditions and established practices associated with the majority group in society. The Presidential Directive of 1948 desegregating the Armed Forces, attacked overt personal racism. It failed to reach the roots of covert institutional racism and this is where the heart of the problem lies.

The whole question of race relations in our country pervades so much of social life that it is not possible to have been brought up in America without having learned some unconscious as well as conscious behavior toward minority groups that is offensive to them and evokes negative reaction from them.

Since antagonistic behavior is common to both majority and minority group members and is of such long standing, the only way for you as a commander to change this behavior is to become aware of it and conscientiously set out to change it within yourself and within your organization.

The roots of prejudice run deep in most American lives. Feeling guilty about this is not helpful. You cannot change the fact that you were educated in this prejudicial fashion. However, you can change your behavior and that of your subordinates when you become aware that you do have prejudices which are discriminatory. Your subordinates of all races and ethnic groups have every moral and legal right to expect you to act in such a way that these prejudices do not distort your perception and judgment where duty performance or military justice are concerned. The Department of Defense strongly supports this position.

Some of the most progressive actions you as a commander can do to grasp the full meanings of the terms personal and institutional racism is to read the books cited in the Recommended Reading List, discuss the issue with your Race Relations personnel, and to attend Race Relations Seminars.

RECOMMENDED READING LIST

a. Kerner, Otto, Chmn, Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, U.S. Government, 1968.

The conclusion of this commission, created to investigate the causes behind the urban riots of 1967, was that "Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white -- separate and unequal." and, that "What white Americans can never fully understand -- but that the Negro can never forget -- is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it." This report should have the prime consideration of the commander since it explains the reasons for a great deal of the frustration that the blacks in this country feel, the reason that it takes a violent form, but at the same time dispels the fears that such outbursts are anything more than spontaneous outbursts.

An excellent summary of this report is available at a cost of fifteen cents from:

American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10010

or

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

b. The United States Commission on Civil Rights, Racism in America and How to Combat It, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402, price: fifteen cents.

The title clearly explains the content. It will lend to a clear understanding of racism, and how white society has profited from it.

c. Silberman, Charles, Crisis in Black and White, Vintage Press, 1964.

Considered a classic in the area of sociology, Silberman shows that the "Black Problem" in this country is actually part of an overall problem, a problem of blacks and whites.

d. Malcolm X, The Autobiography of Malcolm X, Grove Press, 1964.

A vivid description of what it feels like to be a black man in America, Malcolm X describes his relations with Elijah Muhammad and the Black Muslims, and why they totally reject anything connected with white culture.

e. Cleaver, Eldridge, Soul on Ice, Dell Publishing Company, 1968.

An autobiography by one of the leaders of the Black Panther Party, this book should be read with care. While it is one of the most volatile and popular of the books by black authors, it is not the definitive statement on the causes or solutions to the problem of blacks in America.

f. Terry, Robert, For Whites Only, Eerdman's Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, Michigan.

g. Daniels and Kitano, American Racism, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1970.

h. Stalvey, L. M., Education of a WASP, Bantam Books, 1970.

DISORDER IN THE UNIT

Acknowledgements

1. Nots on the Black Experience by Gilbert L. Raiford. Reprint permission granted by Mr. Gilbert L. Raiford (23 Mar 73)
2. Army Probing Racial Trouble by Hubert J. Erb, (AP News Special). Reprinted by permission from ASSOCIATED PRESS, Foreign Desr; Copyright Associated Press, per Mr. Bassett (23 Mar 73)
3. After Action Report Racial Incident, Fort McClellan, AL (Official Publication)
4. Wasted Men, (The Reality of the Viet Veteran) by Calvin Drake, Wayne Spencer, Robert Duncan, Willard Mitchom and Standord Scott. Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Office of Education subsidized this study, (Official Publication)
5. A Lot of Walls to Tear Down by SSG Frank Madison. Reprint permission by Soldiers Magazine.
6. Race Relations and the Leader by CPT William A. Richards. Reprint permission by Infantry Magazine
7. What U.S. Army Commanders Should Know by Robert F. Froehlke, Secretary of the Army, Commanders Digest, November 1972 (Official Publication)

To have an understanding of why the military service has had racial problems; one should look first into what it would be like to be black in America. The "Notes on the Black Experience" will not reeducate or cause one to change a system of values established over a lifetime; however, they will generate an insight on some of the points of discrimination experienced by blacks and their reaction toward that discrimination.

NOTES ON THE BLACK EXPERIENCE

Gilbert L. Raiford

The Black Experience is sitting in a predominantly white class and having the white professor teach directly at you.

The Black Experience is being congratulated because Willie Mays hit a home run.

The Black Experience is reading a news account of a murder and a rape with no thought for the victim, but rather, sending up a fervent prayer that the perpetrator is not black.

The Black Experience is going to the welfare department and having a white caseworker say that you are ineligible because you will not take your husband to court.

The Black Experience is going beyond that white caseworker to the black administrator who tells you the same thing.

The Black Experience is having to tell your four-year-old son that if he insists upon wanting to be white, then he will have to get himself a new set of parents.

The Black Experience is having to feel guilty and apologetic for being middle class.

The Black Experience is trying to decide whether or not you are black enough for blacks or too black for whites.

The Black Experience is having well-meaning whites look at you seriously and say, "I believe in equality, and therefore I cannot agree to preferential treatment for blacks."

The Black Experience is having the price of collard greens, pig feet, and chitterlings go sky-high simply because you decided to call them "soul food," thereby creating a gourmet market.

The Black Experience is listening to the Osmond Brothers and feeling that they robbed the Jackson Five.

The Black Experience is being called a thief and a con man when your white counterpart is referred to as an embezzler. It is being called militant when your counterpart is called liberal. It is being called a numbers racketeer when the white counterpart is called a Wall Street broker.

The Black Experience is being called a welfare recipient while the white counterpart is being called a Lockheed executive.

Finally, the Black Experience is the perplexity you face when trying to answer the asinine question, "What is it the black man wants?"

Gilbert Raiford is an assistant professor at the Graduate School of Social Welfare at the University of Kansas, where he is teaching a course entitled "The Black Experience and Its Relevance to Social Work."

In reading other publications such as: "Army Probing Racial Trouble" (Germany, 10 Sep 70), and "The Wasted Men" (The Reality of the Viet Veteran) one can see how a lack of understanding toward the "Black Experience," on the part of the leaders could contribute to the racial unrest within the armed forces. It is also apparent that many of the soldiers on active duty reading an article such as "The Wasted Men," could become discontent with the way minority soldiers are treated in our society and the armed forces.

ARMY PROBING RACIAL TROUBLE

by HUBERT J. ERB
Associated Press Writer

10 Sep 70

BERLIN -- In August the sound and fury of racial confrontation rolled over the U. S. Army's McNair the suddenness of a summer barracks in West Berlin with thunder clap.

Alarmed commanders were left with the task of reconstructing what happened and why.

The Berlin echo reached all the way to Washington. Along with the news of a near-riot involving U. S. troops at Schweinfurst in West Germany, the black-white confrontation at McNair was instrumental in spurring the creation of an interracial fact-finding team, including White House aides, that is coming to Europe this week.

The ingredients that led white and black soldiers to fight in Berlin were basic and familiar to scenes of racial tension across the United States.

At McNair barracks, a fenced-in complex of buildings, the fear is that it could happen again.

"If it does", one soldier said, "it will be worse. Nobody expected a fight the last time. Next time, they'll be ready. Too many guys around here have got stitches to remind them of what happened."

The spark that set off the initial incident came when a white soldier called a black soldier "nigger." A white GI was whacked with a piece of wood. The fight escalated, "first two, then four, then eight, right up the line." Soldiers poured out of nearby barracks and chose sides by color. Clubs, rocks and pipes were used as weapons.

Five men were arrested. Eight were treated at a hospital, including one military policeman. Evidently as many as 25 men suffered injuries of some sort.

A group of angry blacks refused a direct order to disperse. Soldier informants say the Berlin Brigade's provost marshal was called a pig. The reported use of the term "boys" by a high-ranking officer, in an effort to calm things down, infuriated the blacks.

The chance arrival of a unit from the field in full battle dress saved the situation from getting worse, an officer recalls.

"They marched in the gate just as all hell was breaking loose and were immediately used as riot control with bayonets fixed.

"If you could figure out why this thing happened," the McNair-base officer declared, "then you could do something about it. But when that thing got going, it was not a case of unit pride or even racial pride. All you had was hate."

The Berlin Brigade has been remarkably free of outbursts or racial unrest plaguing other Army units based across Germany. That it now has happened in Berlin, too, underlines far-reaching racial sensitivity.

MAJ GEN George M. Seignious II, the Berlin commander, says firmly, "This situation is endemic to our whole society, not just the Army."

Seignious and other senior commanders feel that the Army, the Berlin Brigade, the entire service, sometimes are blamed for a situation born largely out of civilian circumstances.

In an interview, however, Seignious emphasized that regardless of the original cause, the Army's leadership must bridge a racial gap wherever it finds one.

Seignious is a tall southerner out of South Carolina and The Citadel. "The Army," he says, "must make the racially scarred soldier feel that in the Army he has found an institution that is doing its level best -- across the board -- to achieve a situation of full equity for all its members, black or white."

The General sees the continuing problem this way:

Soldiers coming in with racial scars hold very strong feelings. The Army must reach these men, be able to communicate with them: "Each particular soldier must be made to feel that the Army will handle him fairly. Another problem related to this is an increasing antimilitary feeling among some young men who are drafted. . . . maybe his parents or family have been telling him that Vietnam is all wrong, that the military is to blame. Then, Suddenly, he finds himself in uniform. . .

"In Europe, Seignious added, "a positive approach by the Army has been very successful. But whether the problem is real or imaginary on the part of an individual soldier, it is a question of leadership to resolve it."

Seignious and other top commanders emphasize that junior officers and sergeants must get through to the individual soldier because they are closest to him.

Seignious sees the biggest obstacle to this as the Army's turnover of almost 100 percent each year. The main cause: manpower for Vietnam. Experience shows it is difficult to reach a soldier with a hang-up when the men in his unit and the men leading him are constantly coming and going.

Seignious finds it significant that those involved in the McNair fighting were for the most part recent arrivals, men the brigade had not yet established real contact with.

The Army in Europe -- and the Army generally -- says it helped pioneer integration among Americans. Seignious and others declare there is no discrimination in housing, schooling, job assignments, food or anything else that affects a soldier's daily life.

Black soldiers say this is not always so.

They claim discrimination in such things as promotions, "even if it is hard to prove." What seems to gall them most, however, is a belief in a hidden lack of acceptance that "only a black man can feel because he is black." They see an Army "power structure" that is mostly white. Some whites say they felt the blacks overreacted at McNair. That a punch in the mouth for the offending white soldier would have been enough.

The blacks go farther afield in their criticism, saying that the "officers do not listen to us," that the name-calling was just a public expression of what a lot of whites really think and that a "black man has to be better than a white man if he wants to get a job or promotion for which both are qualified."

A particular complaint is that brigade higher-ups react strenuously to soldiers flashing the "V" sign that in the United States has come to be a symbol for the peace movement.

Part of the complaints by black soldiers are supported by some officers. One white officer said: "It's the little things that bug them. For example they say when four or five whitewalls stand around and talk no one thinks anything of it. But when four or five blacks, wearing black berets or Afro-style haircuts, are seen together, people ask immediately 'What are they up to?' The blacks resent this."

A black sergeant added: "Then you get a thing like this black soldier killed in Vietnam refused burial in Florida. The young hot heads over here see red. You cannot explain to them that it was a white woman who donated to the brother the burial plot in the first place."

Another black veteran said the Army is compounding its handling of the racial problem by being lax in discipline for such things as smoking marijuana by both blacks and whites.

"A guy smokes pot," the soldier said. "and nothing is done about it. Another guy does something else and gets zapped. He has a right to ask, why me and not him?"

Seignious replies to this: "I do not think the use of marijuana -- or alcohol -- are root causes of our problem. They are manifestations of it..."

Seignious calls such usage "escape mechanisms" born of changed values and of antisocial or anti-military feelings brought from civilian life. He feels they also reflect a lack of sense of mission by individual soldiers.

One of the reasons for the 5,000-man Berlin Brigade's generally good record in discipline is its proximity to the Berlin Wall and its isolation deep within Communist territory. The mission is there to be seen.

It is a different story in such places as Baumholder or Hanau in West Germany.

"When you are from Baumholder," a soldier declared, "people feel sorry for you."

An officer elaborated: "The American force in Baumholder is bigger than the town. The place is filled with prostitutes. The whites have their bars, the blacks theirs. There is nothing else to do and nowhere to go. The tension is terrific."

Off duty segregation also extends to Berlin but seems largely self-imposed. It is a paradox that the once racially conscious Germans generally overlook the color line represented in American units. A number of black soldiers have married German women. One says: "Judging only by my own case, I can only say that I have been completely accepted by the Germans."

Officers report that friction with the local population, as well as racial tension with a command, has a direct relationship to the proportion of troops present and any resultant competition for entertainment, transportation, bars and women.

It is estimated that one in eight of the 185,000 American soldiers in Europe is black.

The Army says it is concentrating on a great many things seeking to respond to the black man's expressions of pride in himself. Such symbolic gestures as the clinched-fist salute, Afro hair styles and black berets off-duty are tolerated.

In Augsburg a black protest brought a supply of hair sprays, combs and cosmetic items the blacks said they needed. GEN James H. Polk, four-star commander of the U.S. Army Europe, blamed the Augsburg incident on a lack of communication.

On July 4 in Heidelberg, more than 400 black soldiers held what they termed a "call for justice" rally to organize a movement for "unsatisfied black soldiers."

Polk declared:

"Fairness is the watchword and I mean it. . . fairness in every aspect of our military community. Fair and impartial administration of personnel actions, military, justice, school and promotion selection, leave and pass availability and assignment to duties and details is absolutely essential."

Polk described commanders' obligation to achieve this as not only professional but moral. The General admits that in some cases fundamentals of equal treatment have not been applied, bringing racial tension.

Recent incidents include 10 black soldiers charged with attempted murder after a grenade was tossed into a messhall, and the symbolic burning of a cross. In another case, the Army has reopened its investigation of a claim that a Ku Klux Klan organization existed among soldiers near Fulda.

The Black Panther party also has been heard from. Panther spokesmen have toured areas in Germany near billets.

Two of President Nixon's advisers on minority affairs, Leonard Garment and Robert J. Brown, are in a group of White House and Department of Defense men who are to spend three weeks visiting American camps and bases in Germany, England, Spain and Italy.

The group may find that one of the underlying points that leads to friction is that there is more quiet than action in Army duty in Europe. The U. S. Army has been here 25 years since World War II. The soldiers in Europe have a lot more time to occupy themselves with personal problems than the men in action in Vietnam do.

The title of the following article is not an inspiration of EQUAL OPPORTUNITY Magazine. It is the title of a remarkable and incredible report recently concluded by The Veterans World Project of Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville, Illinois. Called "WASTED MEN — The Reality of the Vietnam Veteran," this survey was developed in cooperation with the U.S. Office of Education, Division of Manpower Development and Training under the dedicated direction of Southern Illinois U's Peter N. Gillingham.

The Veterans World Project operated in two main phases under a \$24,000 grant from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Office of Education. The result is, in the words of the editors of the study "the narrative report of the VWP, written thirty miles from the population center of the United States. It represents an almost unique voice from the silence in that many Vietnam-generation veterans have almost given up trying to communicate to others what they have experienced and its personal significance. It is a cry for help but it is also an appeal to be seen as what they are, men and women who have serious problems but also have unrecognized and unexamined potential ... The document is closer to what we hope is informed journalism than a research report in the usual sense ... During August and September of 1971 some sixty Vietnam-generation veterans, based administratively at Southern Illinois University, but drawn from and operating within a fifty-mile radius, worked from half to full time to design and carry out the main information-gathering phase of the project ... About two-thirds of these veterans served in Indochina, about one-third of them are black, and their average educational level was second-year college, while five had no high school diploma or GED certificate."

Because EQUAL OPPORTUNITY Magazine sees the dilemma of the returning veteran — those of all races and religions — as a major domestic crisis and because we feel that government, industry, the educational establishment and we — as private citizens — are not doing nearly enough to resolve it — we have excerpted from the "Wasted Men" report some of the more poignant facts included in one of the chapters entitled: "The Black Veteran." We do not mean to insinuate that the black veteran alone faces the problems discussed. Our choice is based upon the fact that black veteran and black civilian are traditionally at the bottom of the ladder in our society. Notwithstanding all the legitimate palaver about how much progress we have made in certain areas, America is still woefully lacking in its responsibility to the professed ideals of its Founding Fathers who fled from one system of religious bigotry and political repression to set up their own based on the rape of the red man and theft of his land and the development of a strong economy on the enslavement and unrequited toil of the black man. Five veterans from East St. Louis were involved in drafting the chapter from which we have reproduced excerpts. They are Calvin Drake and Wayne Spencer of State Community College. Drake served in the Marines in South Vietnam and was discharged in 1969, while Spencer was in the Navy from 1967 to 1971 and served aboard ship off the Vietnamese coast, also Robert Duncan, Willard Mitchom and Stanford Scott, all SIUE students. Duncan served a tour in Vietnam with the Army. Mitchom was in the Army in the United States and Germany, and Scott served in the Air Force from 1959 to 1963 with overseas duty in the Philippines. Scott is Director of Urban Affairs in the East St. Louis Mayor's office and Mitchom is a member of the Planning Department for the city.

Reading the entire report: "Wasted Men" gives one a deep consciousness of a vital American problem which is not receiving the attention it should receive. A copy of the full report may be obtained by writing Veterans World Project, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville 62025, Illinois and enclosing a check or money order for Three Dollars (\$3.00). Quantity discounts and the continued work of the organization may be ascertained if you request such information.

We present herewith some slices of reality — excerpts from the chapter: "The Black Veteran" from the valuable report —

The Black Panther party also has been heard from. Panther spokesmen have toured areas in Germany near billets.

Two of President Nixon's advisers on minority affairs, Leonard Garment and Robert J. Brown, are in a group of White House and Department of Defense men who are to spend three weeks visiting American camps and bases in Germany, England, Spain and Italy.

The group may find that one of the underlying points that leads to friction is that there is more quiet than action in Army duty in Europe. The U. S. Army has been here 25 years since World War II. The soldiers in Europe have a lot more time to occupy themselves with personal problems than the men in action in Vietnam do.

WASTED MEN
THE REALITY OF THE VIET VETERAN

THE BLACK VETERAN who has made this supposedly true democracy possible, is like a third-class countryman — not thought of too much. No freedom of religion, speech, press, or assembly would exist if it had not been for the black veteran and others who vigilantly guarded these liberties. It is one thing to fight for freedom and another to preserve it.

Shackled by subtle chains of bondage, yet living in a supposedly free society, the black veteran whose blood was spilled in the ruins of war still "Stands Tall — A Proud Black man." He has served in the armed forces of his country, that others may reap the "fruits of freedom."

Convinced of the justice and benefits which are claims of his hereditary and merited rights, the black veteran again must fight another battle: "The Battle of Return." He needs help in the areas of readjustment, such as housing, protection under law, education, medical care, counseling, available loans, employment, etc.

It is the first ten amendments to the Constitution that, without discrimination or favor guarantee to every citizen "Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness." This Bill of Rights specifically guarantees those civil liberties which are the heart and soul of democracy which was made possible and preserved by the black veteran and other "dedicated men."

An avenue of subtle planning by certain factions of the armed services, to degrade the black serviceman, because he stands tall and projects like a "thorn in the side," when exercising his rights of manhood, is done through and by discharges. These discharges range in severity from "general" to a harsh dishonorable discharge.

The black combat veteran has come home to soaring inflation, a freeze on wages, a tight job market, a slight but hurtful long range dip in effective veterans educational aid, and a concealed hostility by many of his friends, and in many cases, a disrupted home life.

There is a set problem pattern related to blacks and the black GI far worse than any other group, according to statistics. Black GIs comprise seventeen per cent of all combat forces, but only ten per cent of total service personnel, yet, the proportion of black veterans who can't find jobs is significantly higher than that of veterans at large. When blacks are grouped with disabled veterans, the proportion of both their numbers unemployed totals twenty-five per cent of veterans 20 to 24, against 12.4 per cent for veterans in general in the same age group. Blacks, in general, and veterans confront special problems in many other areas excluding some mentioned in the previous context. Namely: insurance rates, trade unions apprenticeship, credit rates, etc. The monster problem for the black veteran is the growing frequency with which he has returned to his family with other than honorable or "bad paper" discharges.

This current problem is all the more alarming in that circumstances typically surrounding such penalties are not usually unrelated to the new black self-awareness. The majority of these cases have followed a pattern. It has been estimated that one out of every four "dishonorable" dismissals issued in recent years has gone to the Black GI. Too often the black prisoners and prisoners at large, will request such papers rather than face the ordeal of spending weeks, months or years in the stockade. They naively believe that getting these papers changed will simply be accomplished by consulting an attorney. Officers reportedly have encouraged this belief. On the contrary, most bad discharges will apply for life.

According to black veteran organizations, of the estimated 20,000 bad paper discharges for which they are seeking reconsideration, fewer than a dozen have been reversed by the military. And few employers make subtle distinctions between the four types of bad paper discharges in question: general, undesirable, bad conduct and dishonorable.

Racial conflict has existed in the services since blacks were recruited under General George Washington. But recent patterns of relatively open confrontation can be traced to the early 1960's. The nationwide wave of black self-awareness was born. James McNeil, a former paratrooper, recalls it this way: "When the generals and everybody would ask what's the problem?" The answer was — "It's the same as it's been for 400 years!" Due to so much unfairness in the armed services, where the blacks were concerned, the Concerned Veterans from Vietnam, an organization led by veteran Barry Wright, organized in 1968 in hopes of eventually suing the Defense Department, forcing the Military Review Board to at least reconsider some 500 highly questionable less-than-honorable discharges. The cry goes out — "A growing number of blacks given the boot by authorities after racial confrontations must be stopped!"

What can the leader do? What is the formula to prevent racial disturbance in the future? With a subject as contemporary as race relations one cannot hope to find "the formula," "the solution"; however, one can take steps towards better racial understanding within the units. Not only on the part of the leader, but also on the part of the men. In the next two articles, "A Lot of Walls to Tear Down" and "Race Relations and the Leader"; we can see what some commanders have tried and found to help ease the racial disharmony.

This senior leadership course teaches NCOs they have

" . . . A LOT OF WALLS TO TEAR DOWN"

By SSG Frank Madison

With CLASS MEMBERS sporting enough stripes to outfit a herd of zebras, it was a most unusual leadership course. The students were all senior noncommissioned officers averaging more than 20 years service per man.

And the instructors--whether they were general officers or Specialists, bearded college professors or miniskirted school teachers, PhDs or graduates of the ninth grade--were there because each had something unique to offer.

The class attitudes ranged from mild curiosity to subdued hostility. "After all," some of the sentiment ran, "who's qualified to teach leadership to a command sergeant major with more than 30 years in?"

The U.S. Army Noncommissioned Officer Academy at Schofield Barracks, HI, was making its first venture into the previously sacrosanct area of senior noncommissioned officer leadership. The 2-week course is the brainchild of Lieutenant Colonel Harold J. Cloutier, the academy's commandant, and his deputy, Captain Gerald R. Harkins.

The same two officers earlier combined talents to make the academy's Basic Leadership Course for E4s and 5s and the Leadership Course for E5s and 6s innovative and practical. Those courses deemphasize "spit-n-polish" and concentrate on the latest principles and techniques of leadership and management.

The new course is a logical continuation of the other two. "The Senior NCO Leadership Course is a direct outgrowth and further sophistication of the courses given to the lower grades," LTC Cloutier says. "That's so senior and junior NCOs will be on the same wavelengths in techniques and understanding."

Staff Sergeant Barry Toll, one of the instructors, comments: "We were getting feedback from some of the NCOs taking our other leadership courses that they weren't being allowed to practice in their units the things they were learning in the academy. They were getting a bit of static mainly from senior NCOs. We figured we had to find some way to explain to senior NCOs what we were doing."

CPT Harkins, who holds a master of education degree from Auburn University, is primary architect of the new course. "A great deal of research has been done in the fields of leadership and management," he says, "and we felt the Army should put it all to use. The principles remain the same no matter where they're applied--in industry, in the military or in a Cub Scout troop."

He uses any material that will make the course more effective. "We subscribe to a great number of periodicals on the subject and we go over one with a fine-tooth comb, pulling out anything we can use."

Reflecting this innovative approach, the leadership instruction resembles something taught in an advanced course for business executives rather than a class for senior Army NCOs.

"Psychology of Leadership," a 16-hour block of instruction, is taught by three professors from the University of Hawaii. It's divided into three segments: Psychology of Interpersonal Communication, Ethnic Relations and Management.

Staff Sergeant Frank Madison is assigned to the Information Office, U.S. Army Support Command, Schofield Barracks, HI.

"That was one of the areas we thought might get sticky," CPT Harkins says. "On one hand were career soldiers--sergeants major, first sergeants and so forth--and on the other were these professors with long hair, beards and the works. Needless to say we thought there might be fireworks."

Instead, he found a lively yet amiable discussion developing. Curious, he questioned one of the students after class.

"Sir," the sergeant replied, "those guys are professionals just like we are. We respect them and they respect us."

He was right. The professors found the senior NCOs good students with open minds. Gary Carlson, instructor of Interpersonal Communications, had special praise for the NCOs' willingness to consider both sides of an issue.

"Like a lot of people I suppose I had a stereotyped image of these guys. I thought a good part of my class time would be used winning their acceptance," he said. "But to the contrary, I found a receptivity which surpassed that of my civilian students in many instances. They were quick to pick up the implications of any statement I threw out."

Carlson's block of instruction was consistently rated high by students in end-of-course critiques.

Other activities receiving high praise from the class were the small seminars and discussion groups which included lower-ranking enlisted personnel attending the Basic Leadership or Leadership courses.

Many of the senior NCOs went to the discussion groups with condescending attitudes but came away with minds changed. "I never really believed in a generation gap before," one first sergeant said, "but I sure do now. If not a generation gap at least a communications gap. The course sure opened my eyes."

Another top admitted, "My people have been afraid to talk to me." And an E8 classmate diagnosed his own problem very simply, "I haven't been listening."

"I have a lot of walls to tear down," said a sergeant major.

The revelations were not onesided, however. The lower ranks also came away from the discussions with things to think about. "You know," Specialist 4 observed, "Top's not a bad guy when you get to know him."

But the sentiment of most of the younger soldiers was probably summed up best by a buck sergeant with 2 years' service. "I've never been able to look at a first sergeant. Man, I see all those stripes and I forget it's just another guy wearing them so I get tongue-tied when I try to talk to him. But since we've both attended these courses I think I can start relating with him on a different level."

SSG Toli, describing his first appearance before the class as an instructor, says he was tense. "I wasn't nervous so much for myself but for the material I was presenting. I knew it was valid but I wondered if I could get them to accept it. Our job as instructors is to get the class involved," he explains. "The guys learn as much from each other as they do from us."

Now he's more relaxed. As the course progressed initial reservations gave way to growing enthusiasm. "It was a beautiful thing to see," CPT Harkins said, "to watch these professionals take a new look at their trade."

Command Sergeant Major Joseph P. Stetz of the U.S. Army Support Command, Hawaii, is a graduate of the course and he feels much of what the course presents is not anything new. "What they've done is to give names to things a lot of us were already practicing. But the course is effective. When you move up in rank in many cases you're also moving away from contact with the troops. This course brings your job back into focus."

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The instructors put a great deal of emphasis on communications and on problem solving. "We don't give them hard-and-fast answers," CPT Harkins said. "We try to show them the tools they have at their command to solve problems. Representatives from each of the staff directorates and various assistance agencies--Red Cross, AER and Community Services--also conduct classes."

The first graduates of the course became its strongest advocates and because the most effective advertising is word-of-mouth personal endorsement each succeeding group has approached the classroom with greater anticipation.

First Sergeant William J. Novajosky, a graduate of the first class, feels the course should be mandatory for every senior NCO in the Army.

"One thing's sure," he says, "it'll be mandatory for every senior NCO in my company."

RACE RELATIONS AND THE LEADER

None of us should still be debating whether the Army has a race relations problem. Recent flare-ups in Germany, Vietnam and stateside forcefully manifest the underlying racial tensions that continue to plague military units. We should now be concerned with programs and leadership techniques to reduce racial friction as soon as possible.

The Army's interracial friction is primarily bi-racial; poor relations between whites and blacks is the main problem. The Army is merely a cross section of society at large, with a variety of racial attitudes and prejudices. We have young blacks fed up with institutions run by whites, apparently for the exclusive benefit of whites. We have openly bigoted whites, some in leadership positions. We have paranoid blacks, conditioned by experiencing or hearing of discrimination; they feel persecuted by even the most sensitive leader. We have whites who are increasingly intolerant of blacks whom they view as taking advantage of current concern about racial discrimination. Often caught in the middle is the NCO, either black or white, whose authority is resented uniformly by many of his subordinates. Understandably, the black leader is often torn between his duty obligations and his conception of his "blackness." Concerned white junior leaders may be frustrated in their good intentions by the difficulty of separating valid complaints from the contrived.

In many Army units, these diverse attitudes have convened in interracial seminars or discussion groups. They are held in a relaxed atmosphere, allowing open and honest discussion. Persons can speak openly without fear of reprisals or verbal abuse from others. The main goal of the seminars is to provide a credible forum for discrimination complaints, discussion of racial attitudes and the collection and dissemination of information on race relations. Sessions are normally conducted twice a month at battalion level, with up to 75 people attending.

Additionally, some commanders have used advisory councils to assist in race relations efforts. With a conscientious membership meeting regularly, such councils can be effective to battalion level.

These seminars and councils can be very effective in conjunction with good leadership and sound personnel management. Every leader must consciously apply proven leadership principles, such as "know your men," and insure good vertical communications. However as the leadership challenge becomes more complex, the leader must find innovative techniques to handle day to day manifestations of racial tension. Let us consider several problem areas and some recommended techniques to help the small unit leader.

For years blacks were very discontented with the Army haircut policy. Under the old regulations, small unit commanders and NCOs determined specific criteria for neatness and acceptability. This left considerable opportunity for charges, many of them valid, that discriminatory standard was assigned to blacks because their hair did not lie flat. However, the new pictorial criteria of acceptability on posters and in AR 600-20 greatly assists leaders in enforcement procedures. The policy also provides a reasonable degree of individual style and self-expression, and allows the black soldier to be well in tune with black cultural standards in America. As a result of these efforts, haircut charges seem to be diminishing.

About the only problem remaining for the black soldier with an authorized "Afro" is the possibility that his appearance will be perceived as rebellious or dissident. Such perception can develop all too easily in all of us. Often when the Afro haircut appears in mass media, it is worn by an alleged law-breaker. It is not uncommon for some whites to negatively think of the militant organizations when they see a group of black soldiers with Afros, berets or black jackets. Such unconscious reactions are somewhat understandable, but prejudicial. Leaders should insure that these possible misconceptions in themselves or others do not taint their judgement on promotions, job assignments, etc.

In some military units, commanders have banned or condemned the wearing of black braided bands or "slave bracelets." This has contributed to the alienation of many black soldiers who regard the bracelets as no more improper than identification bracelets or wide watchbands. Indeed, the regulation (AR 670-5) does not specifically forbid the wear of any such items--if leaders think they are in good taste and are free of disruptive overtones. Similar resentment has also been shown to the so-called "Black Power" sign or salute, exchanged between black soldiers. Many leaders, black and white, consider both these symbols as threatening or inappropriate in a military environment. In contrast, surveys reveal that most blacks regard them merely as gestures of black solidarity or recognition. Admittedly, these symbols will seem threatening to some unit personnel and, hence, will be disruptive. However, this effect is usually much milder than the soldiers' reactions to the prohibition of the symbols. Rather than risk increased alienation of his black soldiers, the leader should allow the use of reasonable ethnic signs and symbols. This flexible interpretation of the AR is not a capitulation to soldiers' demands. Rather, it is an intelligent and favorable recognition of the strong emotions of pride embodied in these racial symbols.

The same guidance generally holds for posters and slogans. Although they may hinder unit solidarity, unthreatening items like "Black Power" posters and Confederate flags should be tolerated since prohibition, again, is likely to be more disruptive. However, extremist expressions like "Kill Whitey" or Ku Klux Klan type literature should be strongly discouraged. Leaders should avoid association with either type symbol; it is usually perceived as pro-black or pro-white and will jeopardize the leader's reputation of impartiality. The Army leader with a Confederate flag on his car has very little chance of ever convincing his black soldiers that he is interested in their welfare. Right or wrong, that is the way it is.

The leader should discourage the use of abusive and friction-producing terms such as spade, nigger, honkie, whitey, pig, etc. He should also recognize that the slang term "colored" is disliked by the vast majority of young blacks. Some even consider "Negro" as a name conceived and imposed by whites, and is therefore inappropriate. Blacks consider the address "boy" very offensive, in the same category as other ethnic slurs like "spic" or "wop." Yet some Army leaders continue to excuse the use of "boy" by saying it is a habit of speech or that no harm was meant. Such insensitivity to the feelings of others is not only deplorable, it creates severe leadership problems.

The grouping of soldiers by race, especially off-duty, is very common and easily understood, given the increasingly different interests of blacks and whites. This grouping per se is not harmful, although it certainly does not promote interracial understanding. Such grouping is very detrimental when it evolves into polarization, that is, when a primary group interest is the exclusion or harassment of others of a different race.

In most cases, blacks see grouping and socializing at "soul" clubs as a way to discuss common interests and avoid frustration. Unfortunately, the environment of the black group often supports anti-white aggression, deemed justifiable, the blacks feel, because of past and present abuses. The white soldiers, feeling threatened by black solidarity or increases in cross-racial assaults, also become somewhat unified and militant. Obviously, this polarized scheme increases friction, supports the spread of rumors and often jeopardizes the accomplishment of the unit's mission.

Small unit leaders must attempt to curb such racial polarization. Commanders should insure that barracks bays and sections of bays do not become segregated. This must be done very covertly, without detection--otherwise a severe backlash is likely. Unless violence has erupted in segregated barracks, company commanders and first sergeants should not forcibly move soldiers to achieve racial intermixing. They should do it by planned placement of incoming personnel into particular squads and particular sections of the barracks. The importance of doing this, and doing it right, cannot be overemphasized. Segregated barracks help perpetuate racial stereotypes, distrust, rumors and violence. Even though integrated barracks are not necessarily a haven of racial harmony, they are a necessary prerequisite to the lowering of tension.

Similar goals should be kept in mind for reducing polarization in mess halls, clubs, and like places. However, effective techniques are elusive. In the mess hall, it might help if a white leader occasionally joins a table group of his black soldiers for coffee. His presence might help combat the suspicions of other whites about the blacks. In clubs, the most common technique is the use of a variety of music and entertainment appealing to all races. However, as in the mess hall, segregation in seating will likely continue--or the patronage of both races will decrease.

Unit functions, such as athletic and social events, which require racial intermingling can also help reduce polarization and promote unit esprit. Still, most leaders need new ideas on how to carry over to every day dealings the fleeting racial cooperation achieved in these activities. Unfortunately, young black soldiers may be increasingly suspicious of this aspect of the program. They know that whites have traditionally been courteous and patronizingly respectful of black athletes and entertainers. Yet, some of these same whites have continued to support unequal education, job discrimination and political inequality for blacks. Some young blacks may not consider athletics as a way to promote racial harmony, but rather as a way to improve their work environment and demonstrate a superiority over whites.

"Black visibility" is the presence of blacks in commonly esteemed positions where they are often seen by lower ranking soldiers. Examples include command and staff supervisory positions, clerks, military police and other selective jobs. In most units, black visibility is low primarily because of the small percentage of black lieutenants (about 2 percent) and captains (about 4 percent) and the low percentage of blacks in specialized MOSs; the latter is primarily due to the Army selection process of using aptitude test scores and civilian experience. The black soldier often sees this low visibility as evidence that: he cannot get ahead in the Army; the system is run by whites for the benefit of whites, with little input from blacks; the system is insensitive to blacks and their needs. To combat these fears, the Army is attempting to increase black visibility, especially in the officer corps, through policies of recruitment, MOS selection and retention. The small unit leader can also help. He can transfer qualified personnel to higher visibility positions, for example, from the motor pool to the battalion headquarters. To a limited degree, he can reclassify personnel or send them to training courses. He can insure that blacks have an equal opportunity to become soldier of the month or commander's driver. Proportional representation of blacks in unit publications posters and pictures is also important.

To date, no official study has detected racial discrimination in promotions. However, complaints are very common, and the perceived discrimination is a serious matter for leaders. To preclude actual discrimination, a commander should closely monitor the promotion system, which now includes the provision for minority group representation on promotion boards. To combat misconception of discrimination, the commander must have open channels for complaints and an effective information dissemination system.

Several official studies and informal queries indicate that blacks have a higher rate of disciplinary actions than whites. However, there is no substantial evidence that there are significant differences between races in the types of offenses committed or sentences imposed. The differences in numbers of actions may be due to a higher rate of infractions by blacks; it may also be due to discrimination that taints decisions determining whether a black offender should receive a verbal reprimand, Article 15 or court-martial. Neither factor can be accurately determined. Commanders should be alert to discrimination in the recommendations they receive on disciplinary actions. Complete dissemination of information on punishments will help combat discrimination complaints and quell rumors.

The chain of command obviously is the primary channel for complaints about equal opportunity and treatment. In many cases, however, the black soldier either encounters obstacles or perceives the command structure as uninterested or unresponsive. He is especially encumbered if complaints concern leaders in the supervisory channel--perhaps a first sergeant. In this respect, leaders should be alert to any factors that hinder upward communications within the chain of command.

A trusted open-door policy must complement use of command channels. However, in most units the open door seems to be rarely used, even though many subordinates have problems that could be resolved if leaders were informed of them. To determine if his unit has unresolved complaints, the leader must associate with his troops and gain their confidence. Leaders must be sensitive to patterns as well as individual instances of discrimination. Specific complaints from a particular unit or about a particular policy may prove invalid when investigated. However, if there are many complaints and general animosity about the same thing, then something is wrong.

Often, it is difficult for soldiers to gather facts and statements to support a complaint of discrimination. But the burden of proof should not be on them. Initially, the leader should treat each complaint as being valid; it is very real to the soldier. Investigation should then determine the veracity of the complaint.

Surveys of black troops indicate that their complaints cluster around areas in which the direction of their officers and NCOs is greatest. In the Army, small unit leaders share the power to cause difficulties for any group, if only by condemning them for minor deficiencies he overlooks in others. The commander should be sensitive to the possibility of real or perceived discrimination in these discretionary areas, especially duty assignments, passes and recommendations.

Complicating racial problems are some complaints from blacks which are the result of misunderstandings or false perceptions. These grievances may be the product of a paranoia or feeling of persecution. Some blacks expect unfair treatment, especially in an organization that is controlled predominantly by whites while others may leave a 'chip on their shoulder'. This situation is difficult, even for the most conscientious leader. He must continue to have an open ear for complaints, even though in the past many have proven to be contrived. He must recognize that perceived problems are very real to his soldiers. In a word, he must persevere in his application of good leadership principles and techniques. If he does this, his paranoid soldiers will probably come to think of him as an exception to their otherwise pessimistic view.

Still other grievances come from a minority of blacks who are seeking preferential treatment, or from individuals who merely want to "mess with" the system. Through investigation and discussions with other subordinates, the astute leader can recognize these deceitful soldiers. Under a strong and impartial leader, all soldiers will soon realize that no one is going to receive either preferential or discriminatory treatment.

Among subordinates in every organization, certain individuals will emerge as spokesmen or leaders and consequently have strong influence over their peers. We can identify these leaders among both black and white soldiers. Vocal militants also have considerable influence over peers, if for no other reason than their vehemence and audacity. Recognizing the informal power of both types of individuals, Army leaders should at least identify them. For an effective race relations program, these men should be brought into the formal power structure (in fact, they already are in the structure, but possibly not in cooperation with official leaders). The leader should strongly encourage and, if necessary, require these men to attend the racial seminars regularly. He should appoint to advisory councils those persons who are open-minded and want to contribute to decisions affecting race relations and other unit matters. The leader can obtain candid feedback by periodically talking with these individuals about troop morale and reactions to command policies. Additionally, he can determine how well information is being disseminated. A commander may find it useful to appoint a black spokesman as his driver or enlisted assistant, providing a more direct feedback from the "grass-roots." Leaders should use these techniques primarily to improve intra-unit communications; they should not "control" or neutralize the soldiers' leaders and spokesmen. Such attempts are likely to be ineffective and counter productive.

Properly applied, this policy for using militants and emergent leaders should: improve the vertical flow of information in the unit; rapidly air and resolve complaints; identify and clear up rumors; improve the input to the commander on problems and programs affecting race relations; reduce the troops' feelings of powerlessness and indifference; promote a leadership image of open-mindedness and concern for the troops; help combat extremist views on racial issues; and encourage the controlled use of radical or militant enthusiasm.

In a racially tense unit, blacks and whites are usually interacting on the basis of rumor, assumption, customs, misunderstanding and radical influences. To prevent this, the commander must insure that relevant facts are adequately disseminated to each soldier.

Individual or group violence between races can erupt in units with weak leaders or in well-led units that have a bad mix of attitudes, work conditions and frustrations from the civilian community.

Several factors determine whether an incident is racial and hence potentially dangerous. An altercation between individuals of different races is not necessarily racial. It is racial if the contested issue is related to race. Additionally, in a unit where mistrust between races is high, a biracial confrontation on any subject should be considered racial if there is danger that other soldiers will join in, choosing up sides by race. Several instances of large-scale racial violence have begun from seemingly innocent disagreements; bystanders of each race did not wait to examine the contested issue.

Violence between races is not only immediately tragic, it becomes a major cause of future racial friction. It hardens opposing attitudes and perpetuates ill-feelings. The leader must do everything possible to prevent racial incidents from erupting into violence. If violence does occur, he must end it quickly and judiciously--to limit its future damage. To date, after-action reports of racial incidents have not been widely circulated to help commanders derive lessons-learned. It is doubtful that they would reveal any magic formulas, but several principles, similar to those of riot control, might emerge to deal with racial violence:

Appointed leaders should appeal to the groups for discussion of grievances as an alternative to violence. The unit commander must promise to take action when grievances are substantiated.

The commander should carefully choose leaders to appeal to the groups. Some leaders, even the commander himself, might have a reputation that will only provoke further trouble with the rioting factions.

The commander should not hastily employ the maximum police or riot control force available to him. This could lead to increased violence, widen the fighting by provoking a reaction from bystanders supporting one side, and create a backlash that would lead to future violence. He should use minimum force to stop the violence.

The leader must recognize that military race relations problems have many causes. Instead of becoming defensive, he should admit that not all Army leaders are free of prejudice. Discrimination does occur. Even though he disagrees with many attitudes of his soldiers, he must still strive to improve unit communications. And, he should seek an understanding of the reasons behind those differing attitudes. To him, soldiers may seem paranoid, prejudiced or obstinate. Still, he cannot afford to ignore interpersonal relations in his unit. The leader has the difficult responsibility of remaining impartial and unprejudiced, despite pressures to draw conclusions about groups or symbols.

Overt racial tension at its present level is relatively new in the military. Leaders have been given little official guidance on how to deal with matters that seem more complex than the usual leadership challenges. Yet, the leader must not use this as an excuse for his reaction. He should not make DA or his higher headquarters a scapegoat. In fact, most effective innovations for improving race relations will have to come from leaders closest to the problems. The responsibility of higher headquarters should then be to disseminate and adopt the successful techniques for general use.

No one expects the Army to actually solve the total problem of interracial tension, especially considering that most of the causes are societal, not strictly military. Still, the Army has great potential not only to reduce many aspects of the tension, but also to achieve some degree of harmony that can spill over into society. The key man is the leader. With sincere commitment from all its leaders, the Army can move toward racial harmony, increase its effectiveness and set an example for other institutions in our society.

Captain William Arthur Richards, Infantry, is currently an Infantry Officer Advance Course student. A 1967 USMA graduate, his most recent assignment was with the Race Relations Coordinating Group at Fort Benning. He is Airborne and Ranger qualified, and is a graduate of the Defense Language Institute. He served in Vietnam as an assistant battalion advisor and as S1 of a division advisory detachment.

A positive approach to race relations is the only approach a leader can take. The next article, a speech by Secretary of the Army, Mr. Froehlke, "What U.S. Army Commanders Should Know." One can readily see the expectations of the Department of the Army and the positive approach a leader should take.

WHAT U.S. ARMY COMMANDERS SHOULD KNOW

By Robert F. Froehlke
Secretary of the Army

I want to make you aware of my complete official and personal commitment to the Army's race relations and equal opportunity programs.

I am not an expert. As a matter of fact, I guess I am what I suspect most of you are. I am a groping and coping, sincerely concerned person. I don't have very many answers. I have my prejudices. Nonetheless, I do know that if this Army is to perform its mission, we must improve our opportunities for equality and we must improve our race relations.

I stress "groping and coping" because, in this highly emotional area involving people, I think it is inevitable that anyone who is sincerely concerned is going to be frustrated. We need the kind of human beings who can grope and cope with this frustration. And we don't need the smart alec who thinks he has all the answers. In these areas there are no pat answers. They change from day to day. That is why it is so terribly important that our commanders be sincerely concerned. That sincerity and that concern is what's going to make us move toward better relations between the races and have more successful equal opportunity programs.

Why is our equal opportunity and racial harmony program so important? First of all, it is our national policy. Secondly, and maybe we should put this number one, it is right. It is the right thing for people to have as their objective. And, thirdly, it is smart from a manager's point of view.

Involvement is Key

There are various styles of management, but I suspect that whatever style you use in the 70s there are certain key factors that are important for your success as a manager. One of the key factors is involvement--including as many people as possible in the total management process. Another key factor is to have those involved be involved not as individuals, but as members of a team. A third key factor is concern, and particularly concern on the part of the leader for the men he is leading.

The final two key factors are mutual trust--mutual trust among all the members of the team--and fun. All members of the team that are concerned do have a mutual trust, working together towards a common objective and achieving it. That adds up to fun.

As Secretary of the Army, I want you, as commanders, to know that, without reservation, you are: to be determined to achieve the objective of good race relations and equal opportunity for all; to be committed to developing and implementing plans towards these objectives. Finally, you personally are to be involved in the implementation of the plans.

As a manager, I know that we have to put priorities on our various problems, put priorities on objectives. Action on many of our objectives and problems we must delegate to good subordinates. However . . . this is a non-delegatable responsibility.

Every commander must be personally responsible for the race relations and equal opportunity programs within his command.

I am aware that this will create added burdens and I don't anticipate that commanders can do everything. Both commanders and their staffs--equal opportunity officers in particular-- must share the burden in this area. Commanders, however, are personally responsible and must personally make that fact known throughout their commands.

Thus far, I have stated our Department of the Army policy. I feel strongly about it, and you should consider it as a requirement. Now let me discuss (other) areas . . . which . . . concern me.

Eliminate Racial Tension

First: . . Do you have a problem back in your unit? . . . The answer is yes. Every man and woman in this room faces a potentially serious racial situation in his or her unit. It is not enough to say that we have improved on the situation, and that it is one we inherited from society. Racial tension is the Army's problem. From whatever source we have received it, it impedes the achievement of our objectives. It is you and I, not society, who must eliminate it from the Army.

I can recall, fairly early in '69, just after becoming an Assistant Secretary of Defense, I visited with noncommissioned officers in one command who told me, "We have no racial problems." That was a terrible error. Not only that they thought it, but more importantly that they convinced top officers' in that command. We must avoid a repetition of errors like this.

Second, I have a feeling that one of the biggest obstacles to resolving our problems of racial tension is a credibility gap between commanders and the minority troops they lead, I believe that one of the most significant causes of this credibility gap is an inability to empathize, and I define empathy to be the ability to look at the facts through the other man's eyes. That is difficult to do. Let me use two emotional examples. . . .

My first example involves the Confederate flag. For a WASP born and raised in Wisconsin, the Confederate flag simply represents the state flag of Alabama. Normally, it wouldn't upset me a bit to see the state flag on a barracks wall or on a car as a sticker. But here I think I have developed a little empathy. I know that most blacks, when they see the Confederate flag, don't see the state flag of Alabama. The black man sees a symbol of the white majority through hundreds of years of doing things to his race about which he does not want to be reminded. I suggest that the white man who understands this view when he sees the Confederate flag has empathy with the black man.

Another example is the clenched black fist. I know, having talked with a number of black troops about this, that the clenched black fist is a symbol of brotherhood, a symbol of fraternity, of unity, of good common purpose. Yet I must tell you that this same clenched fist is often interpreted by whites as the symbol of a black who wants to be segregated from the rest of the citizens of the United States of America. Mind you, it's what the eye perceives it to be that's important.

Here, I think in particular, is where Equal Opportunity Officers can be of invaluable aid to the commander. Help the commander to have empathy. When the white commander jumps to the wrong conclusion about a black symbol, for heaven's sake, tell him how it is, not what he thinks it is. It is through this empathy that real communication among the races will become possible.

Two Scare Phrases

In the area of race relations there are two scare phrases--"reverse discrimination" and "white backlash"--phrases that, again, mean different things to different people and, perhaps, which defy definition. I am chiefly disturbed by the fact that they are both used frequently by individual commanders as excuses for inaction.

Let us consider "reverse discrimination." Frequently when I have asked about implementing various possible affirmative actions, I have been told that such actions would constitute "reverse discrimination."

I will never advocate discrimination in any form. However, I think we as commanders, when we hear the flip phrase "reverse discrimination," should not immediately abandon our affirmative action programs. For instance, searching diligently for a member of a minority group who is competent and capable of filling a command position is not reverse discrimination. And, fighting hard to be sure equality exists in your command is also not reverse discrimination.

The second alibi I often hear is the fear that an action will cause white backlash. I agree that, to assure the success of our programs, white backlash should be avoided, at almost all cost, but not at all cost. Almost everything that should be done, in my opinion, can be done, and white backlash will be avoided if three conditions are present:

First, the policy is fair,

Second, the policy is implemented in a determined and firm way,

And, third, the policy and the implementation are candidly and honestly discussed. Men of good will (and the vast majority of human beings are men of good will), will understand and will not resent a fair policy, firmly implemented, if it is candidly and honestly explained to them.

Discrimination based on race is contrary to Army policy. . . . What happens if we spot discrimination? Often, when we do spot discrimination, the action that must be taken causes commanders and managers some discomfort, if it's not a bad guy doing the bad thing as the result of bad motivation, but rather good people doing habitual things for what they consider to be right motives. What do we do when we spot discrimination under these circumstances? We eliminate it?

It doesn't matter whether good people are using habitual practices to achieve what they think is the right objective. The rule is, when the commander spots discrimination, his responsibility is to eliminate the practice and, if need be, the source.

You may wonder if this rule applies to foreign countries whose people discriminate against our soldiers and civilians. Obviously, we have limitations in a foreign country, but we don't condone their discriminatory practices and we will take whatever action is necessary, with all powers within our means, to eliminate those practices.

In the United States, when the practices are generally approved by the community, commanders must eliminate those practices to the best of their ability, not only by use of the off-limits sanction, but also by seeing to it that the community firmly and publicly understands that the Army will not condone these practices. Now, I am not suggesting that in these communities you should use a bat and swing wildly. I think that you should use savvy. Nonetheless, in matter of this sort, the sooner the objectionable practice is eliminated the better.

Finally, what about the white commander, or, indeed, the commander of any cultural or ethnic background who is very intelligent, very honest, has had an excellent record, but says that, because of his background, he simply cannot accept other officers or other men who are racially different as equals? I say that question is very simply answered: that man cannot serve as an officer in the United States Army.

Expanded Opportunities For Women

For many years, women have been limited in their participation in all aspects of Army life. I don't need to tell you that attitudes regarding women and their roles in our society have been undergoing rapid transition. Our recent moves to increase the utilization of women in the Army reflect these changing attitudes. . . . For instance, I am sure that you are aware that Brigadier General Mildred Bailey recently announced that the Department of Army has set as a minimum objective doubling the size of the Women's Army Corps by 1978. I will predict that that objective will be met and passed long before 1978. We have also expanded the number of military occupational specialties for which women are eligible.

We are now also in the process of having women join men in advanced training. Women are now participating in ROTC training. These are all very positive actions. The Army has recognized the problem, and in its own selfish interest is solving that problem, while doing what is right. . . . There are a few MOS's (Military Occupational Specialties) that women may not fill right now--those associated with fighting in combat or strenuous physical demands. I believe these restrictions are appropriate. The important thing to remember is that... the Army is moving on every front to give women an equal share in the opportunity to serve their country.

You have an exciting prospect ahead of you. I remind you that as commanders you cannot delegate the responsibilities for racial harmony and equal opportunity within your units. . . . It is vital to our national survival. It is vital to the ideals which our Nation has always stood for. It requires commitment and the willing assumption of a heavy responsibility.

There is no panacea. Let me also assure you that as we chip away, moving towards a common objective, we are going to have a very satisfying and rewarding experience.

General Brooks Speaks Out

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY CHIEF DISCUSSES ARMY PROGRAMS

The keynote address at a recent Army Race Relations Conference at Fort Benning, Georgia, was delivered by Brigadier General Harry W. Brooks, Jr., Army Director of Equal Opportunity Programs.

"The war against discrimination, bigotry, and racial disharmony will not be won in the Pentagon," he said; it will be won through "the involvement and commitment of leaders in field."

During his address General Brooks discussed problems, progress, current race relations and environment, and the strategy to be employed to improve the Army's Race Relations/Equal Opportunity (RR/EO) posture. Following are excerpts from his remarks:

While this conference will center on major Race Relations/Equal Opportunity problems and proposed solutions, it is appropriate to maintain perspective by reviewing some of the positive steps and achievements which already have been accomplished.

In discussing these achievements, it should be noted that they apply primarily to Equal Opportunity, and impact only indirectly on the level of racial tensions at unit level--which points out the complementary nature of these two factors. Race Relations must be addressed as a separate and distinct problem.

Some Notable Achievements

Race Relations Education. The Army's Race Relations Education Program is a three-pronged effort consisting of training conducted in basic combat training. Service school establishments, and in unit training programs and race relations orientation for the Army's leadership. Since its inception, the Army race relations training program has exposed over 800,000 personnel to race relations training in the Service schools and basic combat training.

Army Woman Power. Another high priority effort has been the expanded utilization of women in the Army. To mention but a few of the major actions, the percentage of enlisted occupations open to women has expanded from approximately 40 percent to 90 percent. . . The WAC officer advance course and the WAC NCO course have been eliminated . . . and women are being integrated into the male course system.

Higher Grades, Key Positions and Service Schools. The percentage of minority officers in command positions has increased . . . Two of the Army's 13 divisions are commanded by minority officers. . . There are approximately 115 minority group officers assigned to the Army staff, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, or within the Offices of the Secretary of the Army and the Secretary of Defense. . . a significant change from the less than ten assigned to these career-enhancing positions just six years ago.

It is important to note that the Army's Race Relations/Equal Opportunity Program does not at any point advocate the placement or retention of unqualified personnel in any position. Indeed, such action would be detrimental to the program and to the mission accomplishment of the Army.

Serious Problems to be Solved

Despite these gains, a current assessment of the Army's Race Relations/Equal Opportunity environment reveals clearly uneven progress, Army-wide, in the resolution of Race Relations/Equal Opportunity problems. The following areas are of particular concern.

Racial tension continues to have the potential to erode the Army's capability to perform its primary mission. The Army chain of command is inconsistent in its ability to administer racial problems, a factor which emphasizes our need for leadership education and training.

Perception discrepancies and faulty communications across racial lines remain principal obstacles to an improved racial environment. . . . Some leaders do not see the need for intensive RR/EO management. Many minority soldiers perceive discrimination in promotions, assignments and military justice. And finally, many majority soldiers perceive preferential treatment being given to minority soldiers. These situations have been appropriately summarized as "the worst of all worlds."

Other problems include continued personal discrimination against minority soldiers in the United States and overseas, under-utilization of minority personnel within many occupational areas, a lack of viable compliance monitoring procedures and of publicizing Army RR/EO objectives and achievements, a need to improve the administration of military justice, and inadequate commitment of resources at unit level to manage RR/EO activities.

Principles Leaders Should Know

As with any other complex problem requirement, the resolution of Army race relations and equal opportunity problems calls for an overall strategy with principles and an appropriate organizational structure.

The Department of the Army has developed a set of principles which form the basis for the Race Relations/Equal Opportunity Programs. These principles will be incorporated in the new Army Regulation 600-21 and will be taught in the Army school system. It is considered that all leaders should be able to articulate these principles as a means of achieving Army-wide clarification of our Race Relations/Equal Opportunity Program intent. The principles are:

The primary goal of all Army race relations and equal opportunity actions is the positive creation of an atmosphere of racial harmony; it is not the simple avoidance of racial disorders. In this regard, unit programs should be based on a positive award type of orientation rather than a negative or daction orientation.

Army commanders at all levels are responsible for achievement of race relations and equal opportunity objectives. The chain of command must continue to be emphasized as the primary and preferred channel for correcting discriminatory practices and for communicating on racial matters. This principle in no way detracts from the utilization of enlisted or NCO or similar councils as a means of providing participatory communications.

Army RR/EO activities are based on affirmative actions which go beyond non-discrimination to planned and positive steps to identify and to correct existing discrepancies and inequities as a matter of the highest priority.

An essential condition for the Army to accomplish its primary mission of national defense is the preservation of a high state of discipline and good order. The quality of discipline cannot be compromised in a drive toward social programs.

The most constructive approach to reducing racial tensions is the promotion of supportive relationships between soldier subgroups and the Army. Consistent with this principle, it is clearly in the Army's interest to support the soldier's legitimate drive for individual and cultural pride.

Effective implementation of the Army RR/EO Program requires high level policy formulation, decentralized execution, maximum participation by all levels of command, and compliance monitoring procedures.

Based on the assumption that dysfunctional race relations behavior can be changed, the primary emphasis of Army race relations education and training is on the changing of behavior and the creation of an improved appreciation of individuals and groups as human beings. It is fully expected that changes in attitude will also follow from a well-planned and executed race relations training plan.

Army standards for career development must be maintained to levels commensurate with the mission requirements of the Army. Establishment of dual standards or lower standards for minority Service personnel output is undesirable. This principle does not detract from actions to provide supplementary training or education which minorities may require to meet established standards.

A New Urgency

In summary, we are moving ahead and we have a platform of achievements to build on, especially as relates to minority equal opportunity. Our efforts must be intensified, especially concerning race relations and equal opportunity for soldiers of Spanish origin, women, and other minorities.

The Army, with its myriad cultural and social backgrounds, is facing a new urgency to resolve problems in race relations. Neither the Army nor the Nation can afford continued under-utilization of minority soldiers. And certainly we cannot long endure combat units with a significant number of hostile or alienated soldiers.

The call to affirmative action is not new. Indeed, it was articulated in an executive order by President Kennedy 11 years ago and re-affirmed by subsequent Chief Executives.

But clearly all the rhetoric and printed words won't make the program work. In the Pentagon positive programs are being implemented. But the war against discrimination, bigotry and racial disharmony will not be won in the Pentagon.

If we are to succeed, it will be because of the involvement and commitment of leaders in the field who understands the relationship between problem resolution and mission capability, and who use the traditional management expertise of the Army to solve the problems. And if we fail, the burden of failure will be clearly on the shoulders of those directly charged with leading American soldiers.

You can be assured that our soldiers and the Nation will be watching how well we succeed in our efforts to work out our differences.

RACE RELATIONS IN THE U.S. MARINE CORPS

The Marine Corps policy on equal opportunity is contained in Marine Corps Order 5350.5, which says:

"The Marine Corps will provide equal opportunity for all military members and civilian employees without regard to race, color, religion, sex or national origin . . . Discrimination in any form will not be tolerated. . . . Fair and impartial treatment of all personnel is a significant element of leadership which will be given appropriate consideration in performance evaluation."

This policy was clarified and re-emphasized by the Commandant, General Robert E. Cushman, Jr. In a recent letter to all generals and commanding officers, he wrote, "First, I fully expect leaders to lead. To be successful, equal treatment and opportunity for all Marines and civilian personnel must be carried out vigorously and conscientiously at all times. Those individuals who cannot or will not abide by this principle should seek other employment. There is no room for such Marines in our Corps today."

The message is very clear. It was not intended to intimidate, but rather to let all Marine Corps personnel know the position of the Commandant.

In the Headquarters Marine Corps organization for equal opportunity, a lieutenant general, the Deputy Chief of Staff for Manpower, is the Commandant's personal representative for equal opportunity matters. The Assistant Chief of Staff G-1 is responsible for development of policy and guidance on all equal opportunity matters.

The Equal Opportunity Branch was established in 1969 to render staff assistance to G-1. It is divided into two sections--the Equal Opportunity Section and the Human Relations Section. The Human Relations Section is responsible for development and implementation of the Marine Corps Human Relations Training Program.

To date the Marine Corps has not established equal opportunity or minority affairs billets at subordinate commands, since the Marine Corps position has been that this responsibility is inherent in command responsibility. It is believed, for example, that the G-4 (Logistics) should become as aware of the need to name streets and facilities after minority Marines as the G-1 (Manpower and Personnel) is aware of the need to eliminate serious rank and occupational field racial imbalances where they occur.

Nevertheless, a number of Marine commands have created a general staff section, headed by the Assistant Chief of Staff for Human Affairs. Expansion of this concept is now under review.

To emphasize responsibility in this area, the "remarks" section of all officer and noncommissioned officer fitness reports will contain a statement of that person's contribution and leadership in human relations.

Racial Composition of the Marine Corps

As of March 31, 1972, the officer strength of the Marine Corps was a little over 19,400 officers; at that time 1.4 percent (269) was black. The senior black officer in the Marine Corps is a lieutenant colonel. There are now four black officers of this rank, and one additional black officer was selected on the FY 73 board. There is one minority full colonel, who is a Guamanian. It is not likely that a black Marine Corps officer will be considered for promotion to brigadier general before 1977.

The total enlisted strength of the Marine Corps as of March 31, 1972 was a little over 177,600, of which 13 percent was black.

In examining the distribution of black Marines within selected occupational groupings, there is a noticeable under-representation of blacks in such fields as Electronic Communication/Intelligence and Aircraft Equipment Repair (3.2 and 7 percent respectively), and an over-representation in Infantry/Artillery (19.7 percent) and Food Service/Supply (17.4 percent).

One of the major factors believed to be influencing this distribution is performance in aptitude tests administered during the recruit training cycle. The recruit assignment process is now being examined to insure that a selected percentage of minority Marines will be assigned to occupational specialties which now show an under-representation, as long as a minimum qualification is met. It is hoped that this will result in a more equitable distribution of minority Marines.

To Increase Unit Effectiveness'

RACE RELATIONS EDUCATION IN THE U.S. ARMY

The broad purpose of the Army's Race Relations Education Program is "to promote racial harmony, thereby reducing racial tension and contributing directly to increased unit effectiveness." The specific goal of the program is "to achieve sympathetic understanding and treatment of each soldier by his commanders and his fellows."

The method used to accomplish this involves two separate elements: formal instruction in Army schools, and a participatory exchange of ideas on the history background, life styles and contributions of ethnic and racial minorities in unit seminars.

One of the strengths of the Army's Race Relations Education Training Program, as the Army sees it, is that the program is an integral part of the Army's overall Race Relations/Equal Opportunity (RR/EO) effort. The program is designed to provide education for everyone--minority members, majority members, and the leadership structure. The goal is to provide an understanding of the racial problem, and then to find ways of solving the problem.

With its main objective combat readiness, the Army views this education program as a "Commander's Program," designed to support him and his unit and therefore requiring his personal attention and direction.

The Army's Race Relations Education Program was launched in the fall of 1970. Since its inception in basic training and Service schools, Race Relations Training has been given to some 624,000 enlisted personnel, including nearly 313,000 NCOs, and almost 118,500 officers and warrant officer of the active Army. In addition, reservists on active duty for training have also receive Race Relations Training.

An Expanded Program

Recently, in order to comply with the desires of the Secretary of Defense that equal opportunity programs be institutionalized as a priority management function, the Army has made a complete reassessment of its race relations education effort. As a result it has developed the concept of an expanded Army-wide Race Relations Education Program, with a view to insuring a comprehensive treatment of the subject on a continuing basis at all levels.

The program integrates formal instruction in race relations given in the training establishment with a comprehensive program to improve interracial communication--called the Racial Awareness Program--in Army units. To insure that top managers and leaders are sufficiently sensitive to the problem of racial tension and the methods of countering it, they will be given "special training."

The Concept

Formal race relations training is conducted by the Continental Army Command in basic training and Service school establishments, and involves three levels.

Level One is the entry level, given all soldiers in the first four weeks of basic training. It provides a uniform level of understanding of the Army's Race Relations and Equal Opportunity Programs and is the initial effort to counter the causes of racial tension through education. It sets the scene for an individual's Army service in an atmosphere of teamwork and racial harmony.

Level Two courses are for young officers and NCOs. These courses reinforce much of the Level One training, but at a higher level, and provide the basis for junior leadership to deal with race relations problems.

Level Three provides advanced race relations training for middle grade officers and NCOs and concentrates on leadership responsibilities and techniques in dealing with racial tension.

The standard courses of instruction at each level are four hours in length, but many of the 23 schools in the system have expanded their courses to six hours. At Levels Two and Three, outside study and problem-solving exercises give additional exposure. Race relations problems are integrated into other subjects in all courses.

New Racial Awareness Program

The Racial Awareness Program is a new concept designed to insure effective race relations efforts in units. It includes all unit activities directed toward improving interracial communication. Like the Equal Opportunity Program, the Racial Awareness Program will be governed by a separate Army Regulation.

Mandatory race relations seminars are the cornerstone of the program. Also included are such military and civilian community activities as "Black History Week," the observance of the significant calendar events, and unit race relations conferences.

Special race relations training will be provided for top managers. The thrust of this training will be toward the command and staff responsibilities for effective RR/EO programs. Formal schooling includes courses at the Army War College, the Command and General Staff College, the Sergeants Major Academy, and the Senior Commanders Orientation Course given at Fort Knox, Kentucky.

The General Officer Orientation Program and special race relations orientations for the Army's leadership are also included.

Prime Time RAP Seminars

The mandatory Racial Awareness Program (RAP) seminars will be conducted in every unit in the Army on an annual basis. The program includes discussions from platoon to battalion level following a prescribed outline which totals approximately 18 hours. The seminars will be conducted to insure participation of every unit member--which means scheduling sessions during "prime training time." Seminar leaders will include the chain of command, Defense Race Relations Institute graduates, and graduates of unit discussion leaders' courses.

Maximum participation by every unit member will be stressed. The real strength of the program, however, will lie in improved inter-racial communication on a unit-wide basis. The Army's race relations education experts believe that if an individual misses a given seminar he will still benefit through its effect on his unit--his squad or platoon--as a whole.

The plan for the 18-hour seminars calls for six blocks of instruction on:

DoD, Army and Unit RR/EO Policies

Personal Racism

Inter-racial Communication

Minorities in American Life

Institutional Racism

Racial Awareness

Individual seminar hours will be devoted to such subjects as prejudice, minority and majority stereotypes, the feelings of minorities and those of majorities, the contributions of minorities to American life, the life styles of both, eliminating institutional racism in the unit, racial issues facing the Nation and the unit, and a final hour on combating discrimination.

Efforts will also be made to tie the racial preception inventory directly to the standard seminar outline so that it can be used to measure the effectiveness of the program.

Thrust Toward Teamwork

The training specialists who developed the Racial Awareness Program point out that its thrust is toward teamwork in the unit. It addresses both minority and majority views with the aim of molding all unit members together in a spirit of comradeship.

The capability of units to conduct RAP seminars will be largely dependent upon the supply of instructors. More than 2,000 unit discussion leaders will be needed to supplement some 340 teams trained at the Defense Race Relations Institute. The Army's objective is to accomplish this by January 1974. At that time over 1,400 of the Army's total of 100,000 officers will be instructors in race relations--400 full-time and 1,000 part-time.

Furthermore, under present plans, one percent of the Army's entire effort will be devoted to increasing inter-racial communication and improving racial harmony. That adds up to a total of 12.6 million man-hours per year focused on the Army's race relations.

In terms of the individual, this means that every soldier receives continuous exposure to race relations training for his or her entire period of service. For example, a first-term soldier has a potential for a total of 58 hours of race relations education in his first three-year enlistment. If he decides to stay in, he will get additional training at Basic Level Non-Commissioned Officer Education System (NCOES) or an NCO Academy and might total as high as 64 hours in his first three years.

The Army believes that its new concept for race relations education is an achievable program which follows its normal method of operation--that is, formal individual training in Service schools combined with unit development--all aimed at producing effective units operating in a spirit of teamwork and comradeship.